March 30. 1663.

Let this Collection of Letters, and other Discourses, be Printed.

HENRY BENNET.

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SCRINIA CECILIANA:

MYSTERIES OF State & Government:

IN

LETTERS

Of the late Famous

Lord Burghley,

And other Grand Miniſters of STATE: In the Reigns of Queen ELIZABETH, and King JAMES.

Being a further Additional Supplement of the

CABALA.

AS ALSO

Many Remarkable Paſſages faithfully Reviſed, and no where elſe Publiſhed.

With two exact Tables; The one of the Letters, The other of Things moſt Obſervable.

LONDON, Printed for *G. Bedel* and *T. Collins*, and are to be ſold at their Shop, at the Middle-Temple-gate in *Fleetſtreet*. 1663.

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1663
S434

The Stationers

To the READER.

Courteous Reader,

ALthough it be a received Position, That Merit is worthier than Fame, yet duly considered, they ought to be inseparable; the one being the just Guerdon of the other: Upon that account we have presumed to make Publick these ensuing Memorials, or Letters, being Monuments of some late Eminent Patriots and Hero's of this Nation, Who whilst they were Actors in such grand Affairs as suited with their high Service under their Sovereigns, were deservedly Dignified here, and Renowned

abroad. The first of these Worthies being Sir *William Cecil*, Lord *Burghley*, who was an unparallel'd Minister of State; And (as we conceive) of the longest continuance that any Prince then, or ever since with such Success enjoyed, a person alwayes peaceable and moderate, free from Covetousness, or Ambition, in the course of his Service, rather willing to endure the Burthen, than desiring the fruition of Honour or Profit; profound in Judgment, assisted with great Experience; and therefore worthily celebrated both here and abroad, as *Pater Patriæ*, and an indefatigable Votary to the Crown. And for the matters and designs in the Letters themselves, we shall be silent, hoping the Fame of the person will be motive sufficient for you to purchase this Jewel. Concerning the Times, they were wheeled about, with new, and great Revolutions and Divisions, not only at Home, but also

alſo in *France*, *Scotland*, the *Low-Countries*, and generally in moſt of the other Kingdoms, and States abroad (*Forâs Pugnæ*, *intus Timores*) Conſpiracies, Invaſions, and Inſurrections amongſt our ſelves, War, Devaſtations and Maſſacres amongſt our Neighbours, for the moſt part ſhadowed with the Vaile of Religion, many Princes of the Blood, and perſons of great Authority being ſacrificed on either part; turbulent Times, and of great mutations, proper to try the Ability and Fidelity of a State *Atlas*, wherein with what Wiſdom he acquitted himſelf, is referred to you to determine. The next is Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, Ambaſſador in *France* for Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Infancy of her Reign; we have nothing here of his remains, but only his Letter to Her Majeſty, touching a free paſſage for the Queen of *Scots* through *England*, wherein you will find variety

variety of Politick Reaſons preſſed on each part with ſmart Judgment. In the third place, is Sir *Philip Sidney*, that choice Darling of the *Muſes*, whom we ſuppoſe you will freely grant to have been *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio*, in whom *England*, *Netherland*, the Heavens, and the Arts, the Souldiers, and the World did emulate a ſhare; here we have only a diſſuaſive Letter to the Queen, touching Her Marriage with *Mounſieur* of *France*, fortified with many preſſing and effectual Reaſons againſt that match; and penned with a Politick and Ingenuous Stile. And in the laſt place we preſent you with ſome Pieces of the inimitable Viſcount St. *Alban*, ſome in the Reign of the late glorious Queen, and others in the *Halcyon* dayes of the late King *James*, never before (to our beſt knowledge) made Publick; deck't with many grateful Flowers of Philoſophy, Hiſto-

ry,

ry, and Policy, the Fall of the Earl of *Somerſet*, and the immediate Advance of the Duke of *Buckingham*, with many other paſſages of moment (and here you may obſerve the memorials of other worthy perſons, although the Title point only at Sir *William Cecil*) for we conceive it not imaginable, That ſuch experienced, and ſure Maſters of Knowledge, would employ their thoughts in any thing ſleight, or ſuperficial. However we dare not aſſume that boldneſs, as to write Encomiaſticks of ſuch great Perſonages, that Right (we ſuppoſe) is much better performed by more quaint Pens already; *Lunæ Radiis non matureſcit Botrus:* And their Names and Honour ſtill live in freſh memory. Here you may ſafely turn Necromancer, and conſult with the dead, or rather with the living, for ſuch *M*onuments as theſe ſurvive *M*arble.

The Stationers to the Reader.

Dignum laude virum
Musa vetat mori.

These are not like *Augustus* his two infamous Daughters, or his unworthy Nephew *Posthumus Agrippa*, Impostumes, (as he termed them) that broke from him; but pure and legitimate Issue of the nobler part, which is with care exposed to publick View, for the better accomodation of those that have been pleased to purchase the two former Volumes of the like Nature and Quality.

Temple-gate. June 18. 1663.

G. B.
T. C.

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Folio's.

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* *Howes* Chronicle of *England*.

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* *Bulstrodes* Reports in Three Parts.

* *Crooks* Reports in Three Volumes.

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Letters, &c.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Lord Treaſurer* Burghley.

My Lord,

With as much confidence as mine own honeſt and faithful devotion unto your ſervice, and your honorable correſpondence unto me and my poor eſtate, can breed in a man, do I commend my ſelf unto your Lordſhip. I wax now ſomewhat ancient; one and thirty years is a great deal of ſand in the hour-glaſs: My health, I thank God, I find confirmed, and I do not fear that action ſhall impair it, becauſe I account my ordinary courſe of ſtudy and meditation to be more painful then moſt parts of action are. I ever bear a mind (in ſome middle place, that I could diſcharge) to ſerve her Majeſty; not as a man born under *Sol*, that loveth Honour; nor under *Jupiter*, that loveth buſineſs (for the contemplative Planet carrieth me away wholly;) but as a man born under an excellent Sovereign, that deſerveth the dedication of all mens abilities. Beſides, I do not find in my ſelf ſo much ſelf-love, but that the greater parts of my thoughts are to deſerve well (if I were able) of my friends, and, namely, of your Lordſhip, who being the *Atlas* of this Common-wealth, the Honour of my Houſe, and the ſecond founder of my poor eſtate, I am tied by all duties, both of a good Patriot, and of an unworthy Kinſman, and of an obliged ſervant, to imploy whatſoever I am, to do you ſervice. Again, the meanneſs of my eſtate doth ſomewhat move me: for, though I cannot accuſe my ſelf, that I am either prodigal, or ſloathful, yet my health is not to ſpend, nor my courſe to get.

Laſtly, I confeſs, that I have as vaſt contemplative ends, as I have moderate civil ends; for I have taken all knowledge to be my providence; and if I could purge it of two ſorts of Rovers, whereof the one with frivolous diſputations, confutations, and verboſities; the other with blind experiments, and auricular traditions and impoſtures, hath committed ſo many ſpoils; I hope I ſhould bring in induſtrious Obſervations, grounded Concluſions, and profitable Inventions and Diſcoveries, the beſt ſtate of that providence. This, whether it be curioſity, or vainglory, or nature, or (if one take it favourably) *Philanthropia*, is ſo fixed in my mind, as it cannot be removed: And I do eaſily ſee, that place of any reaſonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits then of a mans own, which is the thing I greatly affect; And for your Lordſhip, perhaps you ſhall not find more ſtrength, and leſs encounter, in any other. And if your Lordſhip ſhall find now, or at any time, that I do ſeek or affect any place, whereunto any that is nearer unto your Lordſhip ſhall be concurrent, ſay then, that I am a moſt diſhoneſt man. And if your Lordſhip will not carry me on, I will not do as *Anaxagoras* did, who reduced himſelf, with contemplation, unto voluntary poverty: But this I will do, I will ſell the inheritance that I have, and purchaſe ſome leaſe of quick revenue, or ſome Office of gain that ſhall be executed by Deputy, and ſo give over all care of ſervice, and become ſome ſorry Book-maker, or, a true Pioneer in that Mine of Truth, which (he ſaid) lay ſo deep. This which I have writ unto your Lordſhip, is rather thoughts then words, being ſet down without all Art, diſguiſing, or reſervation. Wherein I have done honour, both to your Lordſhips wiſdom, in judging that that will be beſt believed of your Lordſhip, which is trueſt; and to your Lordſhips good nature, in retaining nothing from you. And even ſo I wiſh your Lordſhip all happineſs, and to my ſelf, means and occaſion to be added to my faithful deſire to do you ſervice.

From my Lodging at Grays-Inn.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Lord Treaſurer* Burghley.

My ſingular good Lord,

YOur Lordſhips comfortable Relation of her Majeſties gracious opinion and meaning towards me, though, at that time, your leiſure gave me not leave, to ſhew how I was affected therewith: yet upon every repreſentation thereof, it entreth, and ſtriketh more deeply into

into me, as both my Nature and Duty presseth me, to return some speech of thankfulness. It must be an exceeding comfort and encouragement to me, setting forth, and putting my self in way towards her Majesties service, to encounter with an example, so private and domestical, of her Majesties gracious goodness and benignity, being made good and verified in my father, so far forth, as it extendeth to his Posterity.

Accepting them as commended by his service, during the Non-age (as I may term it) of their own deserts, I, for my part, am very well content, that I take least part, either of his abilities of Mind, or of his worldly advancement; both which he held, and received, the one of the gift of God immediately, the other of her Majesties Gift: Yet in the loyal and earnest Affection which he bear to her Majesties service, I trust, my portion shall not be with the least, nor in proportion with the youngest Birth. For, methinks, his president should be a silent charge, upon his blessing, unto us all, in our degrees, to follow him afar off, and to dedicate unto her Majesties service, both the use and spending of our lives. True it is, that I must needs acknowledge my self prepared and furnished thereunto with nothing but with a multitude of lacks and imperfections; but calling to mind, how diversly, and in what particular providence, God hath declar'd himself to tenderthe state of her Majesties Affairs, I conceive and gather hope, that those whom he hath, in a manner, prest for her Majesties service, by working and imprinting in them a single and zealous mind to bestow their duties therein, he will see them accordingly appointed of sufficiency convenient for the Rank and standing where they shall be imployed; so as under this her Majesties blessing, I trust, to receive a larger allowance of Gods Graces. And as I may hope for this, so I can assure and promise for my Endeavour, that it shall not be in fault; but what diligence can intitle me unto, that, I doubt not, to recover. And now, seeing it hath pleased her Majesty to take knowledge of this my mind, and to vouchsafe to appropriate me unto her service, preventing any desert of mine with her Princely liberality; first, I humbly do beseech your Lordship, to present to her Majesty my more than humble thanks for the same: And withal, having regard to mine own unworthiness to receive such favour, and to the small possibility in me to satisfie and answer what her Majesty conceiveth; I am moved to become a most humble suitor to her Majesty, that this benefit also may be affixed unto the other, which is, That if there appear in me no such towardness of service, as it may be, her Majesty doth benignly value and assess me at, by reason of my sundry wants, and the disadvantage of my na-

ture, being unapt to lay forth the ſimple ſtore of thoſe inferiour gifts which God hath allotted unto me, moſt to view; yet that it would pleaſe her Excellent Majeſty, not to accompt my thankfulneſs the leſs, for that my diſability is great to ſhew it; but to ſuſtain me in her Majeſties gracious opinion, whereupon I onely reſt, and not upon any expectation of deſert, to proceed from my ſelf, towards the contentment thereof. But if it ſhall pleaſe God to ſend forth an occaſion whereby my faithful affection may be tried, I truſt, it ſhall ſave me labour for ever making more proteſtation of it hereafter. In the mean time, howſoever it be not made known to her Majeſty, yet God knoweth it, through the daily ſollicitations wherewith I addreſs my ſelf unto him in unfeigned Prayer for the multiplying of her Majeſties proſperities: to your Lordſhip alſo, whoſe recommendation, I know right well, hath been material to advance her Majeſties good opinion of me, I can be but a bounden ſervant. So much may I ſafely promiſe, and purpoſe to be, ſeeing publick and private bonds vary not, but that my ſervice to her Majeſty and your Lordſhip draw in a line; I wiſh therefore to ſhew it with as good proof, as I can ſay it in good faith, *&c.*

Your Lordſhips, &c.

Sir Francis Bacon *in recommendation of his ſervice, to the Earl of* Northumberland, *a few days before Queen* Elizabeths *death.*

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

AS the time of ſowing of ſeed is known, but the time of coming up and diſcloſing is caſual, or according to the ſeaſon; So I am a witneſs to my ſelf, that there hath been covered in my mind a long time a ſeed of affection and zeal towards your Lordſhip, ſown by the eſtimation of your vertues, and your particular honours and favours to my brother deceaſed, and to my ſelf; which ſeed ſtill ſpringing, now burſteth forth into this profeſſion. And to be plain with your Lordſhip, it is very true, and no winds or noyſes of civil matters can blow this out of my head or heart, that your great capacity and love towards ſtudies and contemplations, of an higher and worthier nature then popular, a Nature rare in the world, and in a perſon of your Lordſhips quality almoſt ſingular, is to me a great and chief motive to draw my affection and admiration towards you: and therefore, good my Lord,

Lord, if I may be of any uſe to your Lordſhip by my Head, Tongue, Pen, Means, or Friends, I humbly pray you to hold me your own: and herewithal, not to do ſo much diſadvantage to my good mind, nor partly, to your own worth, as to conceive, that this commendation of my humble ſervice proceedeth out of any ſtreights of my occaſions, but meerly out of an election, and indeed, the fulneſs of my heart. And ſo wiſhing your Lordſhip all proſperity, I continue.

Sir Francis Bacon *to Mr.* Robert Kempe, *upon the death of Queen* Elizabeth.

Mr. *Kempe*, This alteration is ſo great, as you might juſtly conceive ſome coldneſs of my affection towards you, if you ſhould hear nothing from me, I living in this place. It is in vain to tell you, with what a wonderful ſtill and calme this wheel is turned round, which whether it be a remnant of her felicity that is gone, or a fruit of his reputation that is coming, I will not determine; for I cannot but divide my ſelf, between her memory and his name. Yet we account it but as a fair morn before Sun riſing, before his Majeſties preſence; though, for my part, I ſee not whence any weather ſhould ariſe. The Papiſts are conteined with fear enough, and hope too much. The French is thought to turn his practice upon procuring ſome diſturbance in *Scotland*, where Crowns may do wonders. But this day is ſo welcome to the Nation, and the time ſo ſhort, as I do not fear the effect. My Lord of *Southampton* expecteth releaſe by the next diſpatch, and is already much viſited, and much well wiſhed. There is continual poſting, by men of good quality, towards the King, the rather, I think, becauſe this Spring time it is but a kinde of ſport. It is hoped, that as the State here hath performed the part of good Attorneys, to deliver the King quiet poſſeſſion of his Kingdom; ſo the King will re-deliver them quiet poſſeſſion of their places, rather filling places void, than removing men placed, So, &c.

Sir Francis Bacon *to Mr.* David Foules *in* Scotland, *upon the entrance of His Majeſties Reign.*

SIR, The occaſion awaketh in me the remembrance of the conſtant and mutual good offices which paſſed between my good brother

and

and your ſelf; whereunto, as you know, I was not altogether a ſtranger, though the time and deſign (as between brethren) made me more reſerved. But well do I bear in mind the great opinion which my brother (whoſe Judgment I much reverence) would often expreſs to me of the extraordinary ſufficiency, Dexterity and temper, which he had found in you, in the buſineſs and ſervice of the King our Sovereign Lord. This latter bred in me an election, as the former gave an inducement, for me to addreſs my ſelf to you, and to make this ſignification of my deſire, towards a mutual entertainment of good affection, and correſpondence between us; hoping that ſome good effect may reſult of it, towards the Kings ſervice; and that, for our particulars, though occaſion give you the precedence, of furthering my being known by good note unto the King; ſo no long time will intercede, before I, on my part, ſhall have ſome means given to requite your favours, and to verifie your commendation. And ſo with my loving commendations (good Mr. *Foules*) I leave you to Gods goodneſs.

From *Graies Inne*; this 25th of *March*.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the King, upon preſenting his diſcourſe, touching the Plantation of* Ireland.

It may pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,

I know no better way how to expreſs my good wiſhes of a New-year to your Majeſty, then by this little book, which in all humbleneſs I ſend you. The ſtile is a ſtile of buſineſs, rather then curious or elaborate; And herein I was encouraged by my experience of your Majeſties former Grace, in accepting of the like poor field-fruits, touching the Union. And certainly I reckon this action as a ſecond brother to the Union. For I aſſure my ſelf, that *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, well united, is ſuch a Trifoil, as no Prince except your ſelf (who are the worthieſt) weareth in his Crown, *Si Potentia reducatur in actum*. I know well, that for me to beat my brains about theſe things, they be *Majora quam pro fortuna*, but yet they be *Minora quam pro ſtudio & voluntate*. For as I do yet bear an extream zeal to the memory of my old Miſtriſs Queen *Elizabeth*, to whom I was rather bound for her truſt, than for her favour; ſo I muſt acknowledge my ſelf more bound to your Majeſty, both for truſt and favour: whereof I will never deceive the one, as I can never deſerve the other. And ſo in all humbleneſs kiſſing your Majeſties Sacred hands, I remain;

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon, *to the Lord Chancellor, touching the Hiſtory of* Britain.

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

SOme late act of his Majeſty, referred to ſome former ſpeech which I have heard from your Lordſhip, bred in me a great deſire, and by ſtrength of deſire a boldneſs, to make an humble Propoſition to your Lordſhip, ſuch as, in me, can be no better than a wiſh; but if your Lordſhip ſhould apprehend it, it may take ſome good and worthy effect. The Act I ſpeak of, is the order given by his Majeſty for the erection of a Tomb or Monument for our late Sovereign Queen *Elizabeth*: wherein I may note much, but this at this time, That as her Majeſty did alwayes right to his Majeſties hopes, ſo his Highneſs doth, in all things, right to her memory; a very juſt and Princely retribution. But from this occaſion, by a very eaſie aſcent, I paſſed further, being put in mind, by this repreſentative of her perſon, of the more true and more perfect repreſentative, which is, of her Life and Government. For, as Statues and Pictures are dumb Hiſtories, ſo Hiſtories are ſpeaking Pictures; wherein (if my affection be not too great, or my reading too ſmall) I am of this opinion, That if *Plutarch* were alive to write Lives by Parallels, it would trouble him, for Vertue and Fortune both, to find for her a parallel amongſt Women. And though ſhe was of the Paſſive Sex, yet her Government was ſo active, as, in my ſimple opinion, it made more impreſſion upon the ſeveral States of *Europe*, than it received from thence. But, I confeſs unto your Lordſhip, I could not ſtay here, but went a little further into the conſideration of the times which have paſſed ſince King *Henry* the Eighth; wherein I find the ſtrangeſt variety, that, in ſo little number of Succeſſions of any hereditary Monarchy, hath ever been known; the Reign of a Child; the offer of an Uſurpation, though it were but as a diary Ague; the Reign of a Lady married to a Forreigner, and the Reign of a Lady ſolitary and unmarried: So that, as it cometh to paſs, in maſſive bodies, that they have certain trepidations and waverings, before they fix and ſettle; ſo it ſeemeth, that, by the Providence of God, this Monarchy (before it was to ſettle in his Majeſty and his Generations, in which I hope it is now eſtabliſhed for ever) hath had theſe preclusive changes in theſe barren Princes. Neither could I contain my ſelf here (as it is eaſier for a man to multiply, than to ſtay a wiſh) but calling to remembrance

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the unworthineſs of the Hiſtory of *England*, in the main continuance thereof, and the partiality and obliquity of that of *Scotland*, in the lateſt and largeſt Author that I have ſeen; I conceived, it would be honour for his Majeſty, and a work very memorable, if this Iſland of great *Britain*, as it is now joined in Monarchy for the Ages to come, ſo it were joined in Hiſtory for the times paſt; and that one juſt and compleat Hiſtory were compiled of both Nations. And if any man think, it may refreſh the memory of former diſcord, he may ſatisfie himſelf with the Verſe, *Olim hæc meminiſſe juvabit.* For, the caſe being now altered, it is matter of comfort and gratulation, to remember former troubles. Thus much, if it may pleaſe your Lordſhip, was in the Optative Mood, and it was time that I ſhould look a little into the Potential; wherein the hope that I received was grounded upon three Obſervations: The firſt, of theſe times, which flouriſh in Learning, both of Art, and Language; which giveth hope, not only that it may be done, but that it may be well done. Secondly, I do ſee, that which all the World ſees, in his Majeſty, a wonderful Judgment in Learning, and a ſingular Affection towards Learning, and Works which are of the mind, and not of the hand. For, there cannot be the like honour ſought in building of Galleries, and planting of Elms along Highwayes, and the outward ornaments wherein *France* now is buſie (things rather of Magnificence, than of Magnanimity) as there is in the uniting of States, pacifying of Controverſies, nouriſhing and augmenting of Learning and Arts, and the particular action appertaining unto theſe; of which kind *Cicero* judged truly, when he ſaid to *Cæſar*, *Quantum operibus tuis detrahet vetuſtas, tantum addet laudibus.* And laſtly, I called to mind, that your Lordſhip, at ſome times, hath been pleaſed to expreſs unto me a great deſire, that ſomething of this matter ſhould be done, anſwerable, indeed, to your other noble and worthy courſes and actions; joining, and adding unto the great ſervices towards his Majeſty (which have, in ſmall compaſs of time, been performed by your Lordſhip) other great deſervings, both of the Church, and Commonwealth, and particulars: So as the opinion of ſo great and wiſe a man doth ſeem to me a good warrant, both of the poſſibility, and worth of the matter. But all this while, I aſſure my ſelf, I cannot be miſtaken by your Lordſhip, as if I ſought an Office or employment for my ſelf; for no man knows better than your Lordſhip, that if there were in me any faculty thereunto, yet neither my courſe of life, nor profeſſion would permit it. But becauſe there be ſo many good Painters, both for hand and colours, it needeth but encouragement and inſtructions to give life unto it. So, in all humbleneſs, I conclude my preſenting

ing unto your Lordſhip this wiſh, which if it periſh, it is but a loſs of that which is not. And ſo craving pardon, that I have taken ſo much time from your Lordſhip, I remain, &c.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to the King, upon the ſending unto him a beginning of a Hiſtory of his Majeſties time.*

It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

HEaring that you are at leiſure to peruſe ſtory, a deſire took me to make an experiment what I could do in your Majeſties times; which, being but a leaf or two, I pray your pardon, if I ſend it for your recreation, conſidering, that love muſt creep, where it cannot go. But to this I add theſe petitions: Firſt, that if your Majeſty do diſlike any thing, you would conceive I can amend it upon your leaſt beck. Next, that if I have not ſpoken of your Majeſty encomiaſtically, your Majeſty will be pleaſed only to aſcribe it to the Law of an Hiſtory, which doth not clutter together praiſes, upon the firſt mention of a name, but rather diſperſeth them, and weaveth them throughout the whole Narration: And as for the proper place of commemoration (which is in the period of life) I pray God I may never live to write it. Thirdly, that the reaſon why I preſumed to think of this oblation, was, becauſe whatſoever my diſability be, yet I ſhall have that advantage which almoſt no writer of Hiſtory hath had, in that I ſhall write the times, not only ſince I could remember, but ſince I could obſerve. And laſtly, that it is only for your Majeſties reading.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to the Earl of* Salisbury, *upon ſending him one of his books of advancement of Learning.*

It may pleaſe your Good Lordſhip,

I preſent your Lordſhip with a work of my vacant time, which if it had been more, the work had been better. It appertaineth to your Lordſhip (beſides my particular reſpects) in ſome propriety, in regard you are a great Governor in a Province of Learning; and (that which is more) you have added to your place affection towards Learning, and to your affection judgement, of which, the laſt I could be content were (for the time) leſs, that you might the leſs exquiſitely cenſure that

which I offer to you. But ſure I am, the Argument is good, if it had lighted upon a good author; but I ſhall content my ſelf to awake better ſpirits; like a bell-ringer which is firſt up, to call others to Church. So, with my humble deſire of your Lordſhips good acceptation, I remain,

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Sir Francis Bacon, *to the Lord Treaſurer* Buckhurſt, *upon the ſame occaſion, of ſending his book of Advancement of Learning.*

May it pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

I have finiſhed a work touching the advancement or ſetting forward of learning, which I have dedicated to his Majeſty, the moſt learned of a Sovereign, or temporal Prince, that time hath known. And upon reaſon not unlike, I humbly preſent one of the books to your Lordſhip, not onely as a Chancellor of an Univerſity, but as one that was excellently bred in all learning; which I have ever noted to ſhine in all your ſpeeches and behaviours. And therefore your Lordſhip will yield a gracious aſpect to your firſt love, and take pleaſure in the adorning of that wherewith your ſelf are ſo much adorned. And ſo humbly deſiring your favourable acceptation thereof, with ſignification of my humble duty, I remain,

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A Letter of the like Argument, to the Lord Chancellor.

May it pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

I humbly preſent your Lordſhip with a work, wherein as you have much commandment over the Author, ſo your Lordſhip hath alſo great intereſt in the argument. For to ſpeak without flattery, few have like uſe of Learning, or like judgement in learning, as I have obſerved in your Lordſhip. And again, your Lordſhip hath been a great Planter of Learning, not only in thoſe places in the Church which have been in your own gift, but alſo in your commendatory Vote, no man hath more conſtantly held, *Detur digniori*; and therefore both your Lordſhip is beholden to Learning, and learning beholden to you. Which maketh me preſume, with good aſſurance, that your Lordſhip will accept

cept well of theſe my labours, the rather becauſe your Lordſhip in private ſpeech hath often begun to me, in expreſſing your admiration of his Majeſties Learning, to whom I have dedicated this work; and whoſe vertue and perfection in that kind did chiefly move me to a work of this nature. And ſo, with ſignification of my moſt humble duty and affection towards your Lordſhip, I remain, &c.

Sir Francis Bacon, *of like argument, to the Earl of* Northampton, *with requeſt to preſent the book to his Majeſty.*

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

HAving finiſhed a work touching the Advancement of Learning, and dedicated the ſame to his ſacred Majeſty, whom I dare avouch (if the records of time erre not) to be the learnedſt King that hath reigned; I was deſirous, in a kind of congruity, to preſent it by the learnedſt Councellor in this Kingdom, to the end, that ſo good an argument, lighting upon ſo bad an Author, might receive ſome reparation, by the hands into which, and by which, it ſhould be delivered. And therefore I make it my humble ſuit to your Lordſhip to preſent this mean, but well meant writing to his Majeſty, and with it my humble and zealous duty; and alſo my like humble requeſt of pardon, if I have too often taken his name in vain, not onely in the dedication, but in the voucher of the authority of his ſpeeches, and writings. And ſo I remain, &c.

Sir Francis Bacon, *his Letter of requeſt to* Doctor Plaſer, *to tranſlate the book of Advancement of Learning into Latine.*

Mr. Doctor Plaſer,

A great deſire will take a ſmall occaſion to hope, and put in Tryal that which is deſired. It pleaſed you a good while ſince, to expreſs unto me, the good liking which you conceive of my book, of the advancement of Learning, and that, more ſignificantly (as it ſeemed to me) then out of curteſie, or civil reſpect. My ſelf, as I then took contentment in your approbation thereof, ſo I ſhould eſteem and acknow-

ledge, not onely my contentment increaſed, but my labours advanced; if I might obtain your help in that nature which I deſire. Wherein before I ſet down in plain terms my requeſt unto you, I will open my ſelf, what it was which I chiefly ſought, and propounded to my ſelf, in that work, that you may perceive that which I now deſire to be purſuant thereupon. If I do not erre, (for any judgment that a man maketh of his own doings had need be ſpoken with a *Si nunquam fallit Imago,*) I have this opinion, that if I had ſought my own commendation, it had been a much fitter courſe for me, to have done as Gardners uſe to do, by taking their Seeds and Slips, and rearing them firſt into plants, and ſo uttering them in pots, when they are in flower, and in their beſt ſtate. But for as much as my end was, merit of the ſtate of Learning, to my power, and not glorie; and becauſe my purpoſe was rather to excite other mens wits, then to magnifie my own, I was deſirous to prevent the incertaineſs of my own life and times, by uttering rather ſeeds then plants; nay and further, as the Proverb is, by ſowing with the Basket, then with the hand. Wherefore, ſince I have onely taken upon me to ring a Bell, to call other wits together; (which is the meaneſt office) it cannot but be conſonant to my deſire, to have that Bell heard, as farre as can be. And ſince that they are but ſparks, which can work but upon matter prepared; I have the more reaſon to wiſh, that thoſe ſparks may flye abroad; that they may the better find, and light upon thoſe minds, and ſpirits, which are apt to be kindled. And therefore the privateneſs of the language conſidered, wherein it is written, excluding ſo many readers, (as on the other ſide, the obſcurity of the argument, in many parts of it, excludeth many others) I muſt account it a ſecond birth of that work, if it might be tranſlated into Latine, without manifeſt loſs of the ſence and matter. For this purpoſe, I could not repreſent to my ſelf any man, into whoſe hands I do more earneſtly deſire that work ſhould fall, then your ſelf; for by that I have heard and read, I know no man a greater Maſter in commanding words to ſerve matter. Nevertheleſs, I am not ignorant of the worth of your labours, whether ſuch as your place and profeſſion impoſeth on you, or ſuch as your own vertue may, upon your voluntary election, take in hand. But I can lay before you no other perſwaſions, then either the work it ſelf may affect you with, or the honour of his Majeſty, to whom it is dedicated, or your particular inclination to my ſelf; who, as I never took ſo much comfort in any labours of my own, ſo I ſhall never acknowledge my ſelf more obliged in any thing to the labour of another, then in that which ſhall aſſiſt this. Which your labour if I can, by my place, profeſſion, means, friends, travel, word, deed, requite un-

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to you; I ſhall eſteem my ſelf ſo ſtraitly bound thereunto, as I ſhall be ever moſt ready, both to take and ſeek occaſions of thankfulneſs. And ſo leaving it, nevertheleſs, *Salva amicitia* (as reaſon is) to your own good liking, I remain, &c.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to Sir* Thomas Bodley, *upon ſending him his Book of the advancement of Learning.*

S. I R,

I Think no man may more truly ſay with the *Pſalmiſt*, *Multum incola fuit anima mea.* For I do confeſs, ſince I was of any Underſtanding, my mind hath, in effect, been abſent from that I have done; and in abſence, Errors are committed, which I do willingly acknowledge, and amongſt the reſt, this great one that led the reſt; that knowing my ſelf by inward Calling to be fitter to hold a Book, than to play a part, I have led my life in civil Cauſes; for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by the pre-occupation of my mind. Therefore, calling my ſelf home, I have now for a time enjoyed my ſelf; where likewiſe I deſire to make the World partaker. My labours (if ſo I may term that which was the comfort of my other labours) I have dedicated to the King; deſirous, if there be any good in them, it may be as fat of a Sacrifice, incenſed to his Honour; and the ſecond Copy have I ſent unto you, not only in good Affection, but in a kind of Congruity, in regard of your great and rare deſert of Learning: For Books are the Shrines where the Saint is, or is believed to be. And you having built an Ark, to ſave Learning from deluge, deſerve, in propriety, any new inſtrument or engine, whereby Learning ſhould be improved or advanced. So, &c.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to the Biſhop of* Ely, *upon ſending his writing intituled,* Cogitata & viſa.

My very good Lord,

NOW your Lordſhip hath been ſo long in the Church and the Palace, diſputing between Kings and Popes, me-thinks you ſhould take pleaſure to look into the field and refreſh your mind with ſome matter of Philoſophy; though that Science be now, through age, waxed

waxed a child again, and left to boys and young men. And because you are wont to make me believe you took liking to my writings, I send you some of this Vacation fruits, and thus much more of my mind and purpose. *I hasten not to publish, perishing I would prevent.* And I am forced to respect as well my times, as the matter; For with me it is thus, and I think with all men, in my case: If I bind my self to an argument, it loadeth my mind; but if I rid my mind of the present Cogitation, it is rather a recreation: This hath put me into these Miscellanies, which I purpose to suppress, if God give me leave to write a just and perfect Volume of Philosophy, which I go on with, though slowly. I send not your Lordship too much, lest it may glut you. Now, let me tell you what my desire is, If your Lordship be so good now, as when you were the good Dean of *Westminster*, my request to you is, that not by Pricks, but by Notes, you would mark unto me whatsoever shall seem unto you, either not currant in the stile, or harsh to credit and opinion, or inconvenient for the person of the writer. For no man can be Judge and party; and when our minds judge by reflexion on our selves, they are more subject to error. And though, for the matter it self, my judgment be in some things fixed, and not accessible by any mans judgment that goeth not my way, yet even in those things the admonition of a friend may make me express my self diversly. I would have come to your Lordship, but that I am hastning to my house in the Country. And so I commend your Lordship to Gods goodness.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to Sir* Thomas Bodley, *after he had imparted to him a Writing intituled,* Cogitata & visa.

SIR, in respect of my going down to my house, in the Countrey, I shall have miss of my Papers, which I pray you therefore return unto me. You are, I bear you witness, sloathful, and you help me nothing; so as I am half in conceit, that you affect not the Argument; For my self, I know well you love and affect. I can say no more to you, but, *Non canimus surdis, respondent omnia silvæ.* If you be not of the Lodgings chaulked up (whereof I speak in my Preface) I am but to pass by your door. But if I had you but a Fortnight at *Gorambury*, I would make you tell me another Tale, or else I would add a Cogitation against Libraries, and be revenged on you that way. I pray you send me some good news of Sir *Thomas Smith*, and commend me very kindly to him. So I rest.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon, *to Mr.* Matthew, *upon ſending him part of* Inſtauratio Magna.

Mr. *Matthew*, I plainly perceive by your affectionate writing touching my work, that one and the ſame thing affecteth us both, which is the good end to which it is dedicated: For as to any ability of mine, it cannot merit that degree of approbation: For your Caution for Church-men, and Church-matters, (as for any impediment it might be to the applauſe and celebrity of my work) it moveth me not; but as it may hinder the fruit and good which may come of a quiet and calme paſſage to the good Port to which it is bound, I hold it a juſt reſpect, ſo as to ſeech a fair wind, I go not too far about: But troth is, I ſhall have no occaſion to meet them in my way, except it be, as they will needs confederate themſelves with *Ariſtotle*; who, you know is intemperately magnified with the Scholemen, and is alſo allyed (as I take it) to the Jeſuits by *Faber*, who was a companion of *Loyola*, and a great *Ariſtotelian*. I ſend you at this time, the only part which hath any harſhneſs, and yet I framed to my ſelf an opinion, that whoſoever allowed well of that Preface, which you ſo much commend, will not diſlike, or at leaſt ought not diſlike, this other ſpeech of Preparation; For it is written out of the ſame ſpirit, and out of the ſame neceſſitie. Nay, it doth more fully lay open, that the queſtion between me and the Ancients is not of the vertue of the race, but of the rightneſs of the way. And to ſpeak truth, it is to the other but as *Palma* to *Pugnus*, part of the ſame thing more large. You conceive aright, that in this, and the other, you have Commiſſion to impart, and communicate them to others, according to your diſcretion: other matters I write not of: My ſelf am like the Miller of *Huntington*, that was wont to pray for peace amongſt the willowes; for while the winds blew, the wind-mills wrought, and the water-mill was leſs cuſtomed. So I ſee that Controverſies of Religion much hinder the advancement of Sciences. Let me conclude with my perpetual wiſh towards your ſelf, that the approbation of your ſelf by your own diſcreet and temperate carriage may reſtore you to your Country, and your friends to your ſociety. And ſo I commend you to Gods goodneſs.

Graies Inne, this 10th
of *October*. 1609.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon, *to Mr.* Matthew, *touching* Instauratio Magna.

Mr. *Matthew*, I heartily thank you for your Letter of the 10th of *Feb.* and am glad to receive from you matter both of encouragement and advertisment, touching my writings. For my part, I do wish that since there is almost no *lumen siccum* in the world, but all, *Madidum*, *Maceratum*, infused in affections, and bloods, or humours, that these things of mine had those separations that might make them more acceptable; so that they claim not so much acquaintance of the present times, as they be thereby the less like to last. And to shew you that I have some purpose to new mould them, I send you a leaf or two of the Preface, carrying some figure of the whole work. Wherein I purpose to take that which is real and effectual of both writings; and chiefly, to add pledge, if not payment, to my promise. I send you also a Memorial of Queen *Elizabeth*, to requite your Elogie of the late D. of *Florences* felicitie. Of this, when you were here, I shewed you some Model, though at that time, me-thought you were as willing to hear *Julius Cæsar*, as Q. *Elizabeth* commended. But this which I send is more full, and hath more of the Narrative; and further, hath one part that I think will not be disagreeable, either to you, or that place, being the true tracts of her proceeding towards the Catholicks, which are infinetly mistaken. And though I do not imagine they will pass allowance there, yet they will gain upon excuse. I find Mr. *Lezure* to use you well (I mean his tongue, of you.) which shews you either honest or wise. But this I speak merely; For in good faith, I conceive hope, that you will so govern your self, as we may take you as assuredly for a good Subject, and Patriot, as you take your self for a good Christian; and so we may again enjoy your Company, and you your Conscience, if it may no otherwise be. For my part, assure your self, (that as we say in the Law) *Mutatis mutandis*, my love and good wishes to you are not diminished. And so I remain.

A Letter to Mr. Matthew, *upon ſending his Book* De Sapientia Veterum.

Mr. *Matthew*, I do very heartily thank you for your Letter of the 24th of *Aug.* from *Salamanca*; and in recompence thereof, I ſend you a little work of mine, that hath begun to paſs the world. They tell me my Lattin is turn'd into Silver, and becom currant. Had you been here, you had been my Inquiſitor, before it came forth. But I think the greateſt Inquiſitor in *Spain* will allow it. But one thing you muſt pardon me, if I make no haſt to beleive, that the world ſhould be grown to ſuch an extaſie, as to reject truth in Philoſophy, becauſe the Author diſſenteth in Religion; no more then they do by *Ariſtole*, or *Averrois*. My great work goeth forward, and after my manner, I alter ever when I add. So that nothing is finiſhed till all be finiſhed. Th s I have written in the midſt of a Term and Parliament, thinking no time ſo precious, but that I ſhould talk of theſe matters with ſo good and dear a friend. And ſo, with my wonted wiſhes, I leave you to Gods goodneſs.

From Grayes-Inne, Febr. 17. 1610.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to M.* Savill.

Mr. *Savill*, Coming back from your Invitation at *Eaton*, where I had refreſhed my ſelf with company which I loved, I fell into a conſideration of that part of Policie whereof Philoſophy ſpeaketh too much, and Laws too little; And that is, of education of youth; whereupon fixing my mind a while, I found ſtraitwayes, and noted, even in the diſcourſes of Philoſophers, (which are ſo large in this argument,) a ſtrange ſilence concerning one principal part of that ſubject. For as touching the framing and ſeaſoning of youth to moral vertues, tolerance of labour, continency from pleaſures, obedience, honour, and the like, they handle it: but touching the improvement and helping of the intellectual powers, as of conceit, memory, and judgement, they ſay nothing; whether it were that they thought it to be a matter wherein Nature only prevailed; or that they intended it, as referred to the ſeveral and proper Arts which teach the uſe of Reaſon, and ſpeech. But for the former of theſe two reaſons, howſoever it

pleaſeth them to diſtinguiſh of habits, and powers, the experience is manifeſt enough, that the motions and faculties of the will and memory may be not only governed and guided, but alſo confirmed and enlarged, by cuſtome and exercife duly applyed; as, if a man exercife ſhooting, he ſhall not only ſhoot nearer the mark, but alſo draw a ſtronger bow. And as for the latter, of comprehending theſe precepts within the Arts of Logick and Rhetorick, if it be rightly conſidered, their office is diſtinct altogether from this point; for it is no part of the doctrine of the uſe, or handling of an inſtrument, to teach how to whet or grinde the inſtrument, to give it a ſharper edge, or how to quench it, or otherwiſe, whereby to give it a ſtronger temper. Wherefore finding this part of knowledge not broken, I have but *tanquam aliud agens*, entred into it, and ſalute you with it, dedicating it after the ancient manner; firſt, as to a dear friend, and then as to an apt perſon; foraſmuch as you have both place to practiſe it, and judgment, and leiſure, to look deeper in it, then I have done. Herein you muſt call to mind, ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ. Though the argument be not of great height and dignitie, never the leſs, it is of great and univerſal uſe. And yet I do not ſee, why (to conſider it rightly) that ſhould not be a learning of heighth, which teacheth to raiſe the higheſt and worthieſt part of the minde. But howſoever that be, if the world take any light and uſe by this writing, I will, that the Gratulation be to the good friendſhip and acquaintance between us two. And ſo I commend you to Gods divine protection.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the King, touching the Sollicitors place.*

HOW honeſtly ready I have been (moſt gracious Sovereign) to do Your Majeſty humble Service to the beſt of my power, and in a manner beyond my power (as I now ſtand) I am not ſo unfortunate, but Your Majeſty knoweth: For both in the Commiſſion of Union (the labour whereof, for men of my Profeſſion, reſted moſt upon my hand) and this laſt Parliament in the Bill of the Subſidie (both Body and preamble) in the Bill of Attainders of *Treſham*, and the reſt; in the matter of Purveyance in the Eccleſiaſtical Petitions, in the Grievances, and the like; as I was ever careful (and not without good ſucceſs) ſometimes to put forward that which was good, ſometimes to keep back that which was not ſo good; ſo Your Majeſty was pleaſed to accept kindly of my Services, and to ſay to me, ſuch Conflicts were the

wars

wars of Peace, and ſuch Victories, the Victories of Peace; And therefore ſuch ſervants that obtained them, were by Kings that Reign in Peace, no leſs to be eſteemed than ſervices of Commanders in the Wars. In all which, nevertheleſs, I can challenge to my ſelf no ſufficiency, but that I was diligent and reaſonably happy to execute thoſe directions which I received either immediately from Your Royal Mouth, or from my Lord of *Salisbury*; At which time it pleaſed Your Majeſty to promiſe and aſſure me, that upon the remove of the then Attorney, I ſhould not be forgotten, but brought into ordinary place. And this was, after, confirmed to me by many of my Lords, and towards the end of the laſt *Term*, the manner alſo in particular was ſpoken of; that is, that Mr. Sollicitor ſhould be made Your Majeſties Serjeant, and I Sollicitor; for ſo it was thought beſt, to ſort with both our gifts and faculties, for the good of your Service. And of this reſolution, both Court and Countrey took knowledge. Neither was this any invention or project of mine own, but moved from my Lords; and I think, firſt, from my Lord Chancellor. Whereupon reſting, Your Majeſty well knoweth, I never opened my mouth for the greater place, though I am ſure I had two Circumſtances, that Mr. Attorney that now is, could not alledge. The one, nine years ſervice of the Crown; The other, being Couſin-German to the Lord of *Salisbury*, whom Your Majeſty eſteemeth and truſteth ſo much. But for the leſs place, I conceived it was meant me. But after that Mr. Attorney *Hubbert* was placed, I heard no more of my Preferment, but it ſeemed to be at a ſtop, to my great diſgrace and diſcouragement. For (gracious Sovereign) if ſtill when the waters are ſtirred, another ſhall be put before me, Your Majeſty had need work a Miracle, or elſe I ſhall be ſtill a lame man to do Your Majeſty Service. And therefore my moſt humble Suit to Your Majeſty, is, That this which ſeem'd to me was intended, may ſpeedily be performed. And I hope my former Service ſhall be but beginnings to better, when I am better ſtrengthned: For ſure I am, no mans heart is fuller (I ſay not but many have greater hearts, but I ſay, not fuller) of Love and Duty towards Your Majeſty, and Your Children, as, I hope, time will manifeſt againſt Envy and Detraction, if any be. To conclude, I moſt humbly crave pardon for my boldneſs, and reſt.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to the King, his ſuite to ſucceed in the Atturneys place.*

It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

YOur great and Princely favours towards me in advancing me to place, and that which is to me of no leſs comfort, your Majeſties benign and gracious acceptation from time to time of my poor ſervices, much above the merit and value of them, hath almoſt brought me to an opinion, that I may ſooner perchance be wanting to my ſelf in not asking, then find your Majeſties goodneſs wanting to me, in any my reaſonable and modeſt deſires. And therefore, perceiving how at this time preferments of Law fly about mine ears, to ſome above me, and to ſome below me, I did conceive your Majeſty may think it rather a kinde of dulneſs, or want of Faith, than Modeſtie, if I ſhould not come with my Pitcher to *Jacobs* well, as others do. Wherein I ſhall propound to your Majeſty, that which tendeth not ſo much to the raiſing of my Fortune, as to the ſetling of my minde, being ſometimes aſſayled with this Cogitation, that by reaſon of my ſlowneſs to ſue and apprehend ſudden occaſions, keeping on one plain courſe of painful ſervice, I may (*in fine dierum*) be in danger to be neglected and forgotten. And if that ſhould be, then were it much better for me now while I ſtand in your Majeſties good opinion (though unworthy) and have ſome reputation in the world, to give over the Courſe I am in, and to make Proof to do you ſome honour by my Pen; either by writing ſome faithful Narrative of your happy (though not untraduced) times, or by recompiling your Laws, which, I perceive, your Majeſty labour-eth with, and hath in your head, (as *Jupiter* had *Pallas*) or ſome other the like work (for without ſome endeavour to do you honour I would not live) then to ſpend my wits and time in this laborious place, wherein now I ſerve, if it ſhall be deprived of thoſe outward ornaments, and inward comforts, which it was wont to have in reſpect of an aſſured ſucceſſion to ſome place of more dignitie and reſt, which ſeemeth now to be a hope altogether caſual, if not wholly intercepted. Wherefore (not to hold your Majeſty long) my ſuit (then the which I think I cannot well go lower) is, that I may obtain your royal promiſe to ſucceed (if I live) into the Atturneys place, whenſoever it ſhall be void, in being but the natural, and immediate ſtep and riſe, which the place I now hold hath ever (in ſort) made claim to, and almoſt never failed of.

In

In this ſuit I make no friends to your Majeſty, but relie upon no other motive than your Grace, nor any other aſſurance but your word, whereof I had good experience when I came to the Solicitors place, that they were like to the two great Lights, which in their motions are never Retrograde. So, with my beſt prayer for your Majeſties happineſs, I reſt.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to Sir* George Cary *in* France, *upon ſending him his writing*, In fœlicem memoriam Elizabethæ.

My very good Lord,

BEing asked the queſtion by this bearer, an old ſervant of my brother *Anthony Bacon*, whether I would command him any ſervice into *France*, and being at better leiſure then I would, in regard of ſickneſs, I began to remember, that neither your buſineſs nor mine, (though great and continual) can be, upon an exact account, any juſt occaſion why ſo much good will as hath paſſed between us, ſhould be ſo much diſcontinued as it hath been. And therefore, becauſe one muſt begin, I thought to provoke your remembrance of me, by my Letter. And thinking how to fit it with ſomewhat beſides ſalutations, it came to my mind, that this laſt ſummer by occaſion of a factious Book that endeavoured to verifie *Miſera Fœmina* (the addition of the Popes Bull) upon Queen *Elizabeth*; I did write a few lines in her memorial, which I thought you would be well pleaſed to read, both for the argument, and becauſe you were wont to bear affection to my pen. *Verum, ut aliud ex alio*, if it came handſomly to paſs, I would be glad the Preſident *de Thou* (who hath written a Hiſtory, as you know, of that fame and diligence) ſaw it; chiefly becauſe I know not, whether it may not ſerve him for ſome uſe in his Story; wherein I would be glad he did right to the truth, and to the memory of that Lady, as I perceive by that he hath already written, he is well inclined to do; I would be glad alſo, it were ſome occaſion (ſuch as abſence may permit) of ſome acquaintance or mutual notice between us. For though he hath many ways the precedence (chiefly in worth) yet this is common to us both, that we ſerve our Soveraigns in places of Law eminent, and not our ſelves only, but that our Fathers did ſo before us; and laſtly, that both of us love Learning, and Liberal Sciences, which was ever a bond of Friendſhip, in the greateſt diſtances of places. But of this I make no farther requeſt, then your own occaſions and reſpects (to me unknown) may further or limit; my principal purpoſe being to ſalute you, and to ſend you this

Token,

Token, whereunto I will add my very kind commendations to my Lady. And ſo commit you both to Gods holy protection.

A Letter to Sir Geo. Villiers, *touching the difference between the Courts of* Chancery *and* Kings Bench.

Sir,

I Received this morning from you two Letters by the ſame bearer, the one written before the other, both after his Majeſty had received my laſt. In this difference between the two Courts of Chancery and Kings Bench (for ſo I had rather take it at this time, then between the perſons of my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Chief Juſtice) I marvaile not, if rumour get way of true Relation; for I know Fame hath ſwift wings, ſpecially that which hath black feathers; but within theſe two days (for ſooner I cannot be ready) I will write to his Majeſty both the Narrative truly, and my opinion ſincerely, taking much comfort, that I ſerve ſuch a King, as hath Gods property, in diſcerning truly of mens hearts. I purpoſe to ſpeak with my Lord Chancellor this day, and ſo to exhibit that Cordial of his Majeſties grace, as I hope this other accident will rather rowſe and raiſe his ſpirits, then deject him, or incline him to a relapſe; Mean while, I commend the wit of a mean man that ſaid this other day; Well (ſaith he) next Term you ſhall have an old man come with a beſom of Worm-wood in his hand, that will ſweep away all this. For it is my Lord Chancellor his faſhion, eſpecially towards the Summer, to carry a poſie of Worm-wood. I writ this Letter in haſte, to return the Meſſenger with it. God keep you, and long and happily may you ſerve his Majeſty.

Feb. 19. 1615. *Your true and affectionate ſervant.*

POST-SCRIPT.

Sir, I humbly thank you for your inward Letter: I have burned it as you commanded, but the flame it hath kindled in me will never be extinguiſhed.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon *to the* King, *concerning the* Præmunire *in the* Kings Bench *againſt the* Chancery.

It may pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Was yeſterday in the Afternoon with my Lord Chancellor, according to Your Commandment, which I received by the Maſter of the Horſe, and find the old man well comforted, both towards God, and towards the world. And that ſame middle comfort, which is a divine and humane proceeding from your Majeſty being Gods Leiutenant on earth, I am perſwaded hath been a great cauſe, that ſuch a ſickneſs hath been portable to ſuch an age. I did not faile in my conjecture, that this buſineſs of the Chancery hath ſtirred him. He ſheweth to deſpiſe it, but yet he is full of it, and almoſt like a young Duelliſt that findeth himſelf behind hand.

I will now (as your Majeſty requireth) give you a true relation of that which paſſed; neither will I decline your Royall Commandment, for delivering my opinion alſo, though it be a tender ſubject to write on. But I that account my being but an accident to my ſervice, will neglect no duty upon ſelf-ſafety. Firſt, it is neceſſary I let your Majeſty know the ground of the difference between the two Courts, that your Majeſty may the better underſtand the Narrative.

There was a Statute made 27. *Ed.* 3. *Cap.* 1. which (no doubt) in the principal intention thereof, was ordained againſt thoſe that ſued to *Rome*, wherein there are words ſomewhat general, againſt any that queſtioneth or impeacheth any judgement given in the Kings Courts, in any other Courts. Upon theſe doubtfull words (other Courts) the Controverſie groweth; For the ſounder interpretation taketh them to be meant of thoſe Courts which though locally they were not held at *Rome*, or where the Popes Chair was, but here within the Realm, yet in their juriſdiction had their dependency upon the Court of *Rome*, as were the Court of the Legat here, and the Courts of the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, which were then but ſubordinate judgement ſeats, to that high Tribunal of *Rome*. 27 *E.* 3. *Cap.* 1.

And for this Conſtruction the oppoſition of the words, (if they be well obſerved) between the Kings Courts and other Courts, maketh very much; For it importeth as if thoſe other Courts were not the Kings Courts. Alſo the main ſcope of the Statute fortifieth the ſame; and laſtly the practice of many ages. The other interpretation (which

cleaveth

cleaveth to the letter, expoundeth the Kings Courts to be the Courts of Law only, and other Courts to be Courts of Equity, as the Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, Dutchy, &c. though this alſo flyeth indeed from the letter; for that all theſe are the Kings Courts.

There is alſo another Statute which is but a ſimple Prohibition, and not with a penalty of Præmunire as the other is, That after judgements given in the Kings Courts, the parties ſhall be in Peace, except the judgments be undone by Error, or Attaint, which is a legall form of reverſall. And of this alſo, I hold the ſounder interpretation to be, to ſettle poſſeſſions againſt diſturbances; and not to take away remedy in equity, where thoſe judgments are obtained *ex rigore juris*, and againſt good Conſcience.

4 H. 4. Cap. 23.

But upon theſe two Statutes, there hath been a late conceipt in ſome, that if a judgement paſſe at the Common-Law againſt any, he may not after ſue for relief in Chancery; and if he do, both he and his Councel and his Solicitor, yea and the Judge in Equity, himſelf, are within the danger of thoſe Statutes. There your Majeſty hath the true ſtate of the queſtion, which I was neceſſarily to ſhew you firſt, becauſe your Majeſty calleth for this relation, not as news, but as buſineſs. Now to the Hiſtorical part; It is the Courſe of the Kings Bench, that they give in Charge to the Grand Jury offences of all natures to be preſented within *Middleſex* where the ſaid Court is; and the manner is to enumerate them, as it were in Articles. This was done by Juſtice *Crooke*, the Wedneſday before the Term ended, and that Article, *if any man after a judgement given had drawn the ſaid judgement to a new examination in any other Court*, was by him eſpecially given in Charge, which had not uſed to be given in Charge before. It is true, it was not ſolemnly dwelt upon, but as it were, thrown in amongſt the reſt.

The laſt day of the Term (and that which all men condemn) the ſuppoſed laſt day of my Lord Chancellors life) there were two Indictments preferred of Præmunire, for ſuing in Chancery after judgement at Common-Law; The one by *Richard Glanvile*, the other by *William Allen*; the former againſt *Courtney* the party in Chancery; *Gibb* the Councellor, and *Deurſt* the Clerk. The latter againſt Alderman *Bowles*, and *Humphry Smith*, parties in Chancery; Serjeant *Moor* the Councellor, *Elias Wood* Sollicitor in the Cauſe, and Sir *John Tindall* Maſter of the Chancery, and an Aſſeſſor to my Lord Chancellor. For the Caſes themſelves, it were too long to trouble Your Majeſty with them; but this I will ſay, If they were ſet on that preferred them, they were the worſt Workmen that ever were that ſet them on; for there could not have been choſen two ſuch Cauſes, to the honour and advantage

tage of the Chancery, for the juſtneſs of the Decrees, and the foulneſs and ſcandal both of fact and perſon, in thoſe that impeach the Decrees.

The Grand Jury conſiſting (as it ſeemeth) of very ſubſtantial and intelligent perſons, would not find the Bills, notwithſtanding that they were much clamoured by the parties, and twice ſent back by the Court; and in Concluſion, reſolutely 17 of 19 found an *Ignoramus*; wherein, for that time, I think *Ignoramus* was wiſer than thoſe that knew too much.

Your Majeſty will pardon me, if I be ſparing in delivering to You ſome other circumſtances of aggravation, and concurrences of ſome like matters the ſame day, as if it had been ſome fatal conſtellation. They be not things ſo ſufficiently tryed, as I dare put them into Your ear.

For my opinion, I cannot but begin with this Preface, That I am infinitely ſorry that Your Majeſty is thus put to ſalve and cure, not only accidents of time, but errors of ſervants. For I account this a kind of ſickneſs of my Lord *Cooke's*, that comes almoſt, in as ill a time, as the ſickneſs of my Lord Chancellor. And as I think it was one of the wiſeſt parts that ever he plaid, when he went down to Your Majeſty to *Royſton*, and deſired to have my Lord Chancellor joined with him: So this was one of the weakeſt parts that ever he plaid, to make all the World perceive that my Lord Chancellor is ſevered from him at this time.

But for that which may concern Your Service, which is my end, (leaving other men to their own wayes) Firſt, my opinion is plainly, that my Lord *Cooke*, at this time, is not to be diſgraced, both becauſe he is ſo well habituate for that which remaineth of theſe capital Cauſes, and alſo for that which I find is in his breaſt touching Your Finances, and matters of repair of Your Eſtate. And (if I might ſpeak it) as I think it were good his hopes were at an end in ſome kind, ſo I could wiſh they were raiſed in ſome other. On the other ſide, this great and publick Affront, not only to the Reverend and well-deſerving perſon of Your Chancellor (and at a time when he was thought to lie a dying, which was barbarous) but to Your High-Court of Chancery (which is the Court of Your abſolute power) may not (in my opinion) paſs lightly, nor end only in ſome formal atonement; but uſe is to be made thereof, for the ſetling of Your Authority, and ſtrengthning of Your Prerogative, according to the true Rules of Monarchy. Now to accommodate and reconcile theſe Advices, which ſeem almoſt oppoſite.

First, Your Majesty may not see it (though I confess it be suspitious) that my Lord *Cooke* was any way aforehand privy to that which was done, or that he did set it, or animate it, but only took the matter as it came before him, and that his Error was only that at such a time he did not divert it in some good manner.

Secondly, If it be true (as is reported) that any of the puisne Judges did stir this business, or that they did openly revile and menace the Jury for doing their Conscience (as they did honestly and truly) I think that Judge is worthy to lose his place. And to be plain with Your Majesty, I do not think there is any thing a greater *Polycreston*, *ad multa utile*, to Your Affairs, than upon a just and fit occasion, to make some example against the presumption of a Judge, in Causes that concern Your Majesty; whereby the whole body of those Magistrates may be contained in better awe; and, it may be, this will light upon no unfit subject, of a person that is rude, and that no man cares for.

Thirdly, If there be no one so much in fault (which I cannot yet affirm either way, and there must be a just ground, God forbid else) yet I should think, that the very presumption of going so far in so high a Cause, deserveth to have that done, which was done in this very case, upon the Indictment of Serjeant *Heale* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, that the Judges should answer it upon their knees before Your Majesty, or Your Councel, and receive a sharp admonition; as which time also, my Lord *Wrey* being then Chief Justice, slipt the Collar, and was forborn.

Fourthly, for the persons themselves, *Glanvile* and *Allen*, which are base Fellows, and turbulent, I think there will be discovered and proved against them (besides the preferring of the Bill) such combination, and contemptuous speeches and behaviour, as there will be good ground to call them, and perhaps some of their petty Councellors at Law, into the Star-Chamber.

In all this which I have said, Your Majesty may be pleased to observe, That I do not engage you much in the main point of the Jurisdiction, for which I have a great deal of reason, which I now forbear. But two things I wish to be done; the one, That Your Majesty take this occasion to redouble unto all Your Judges Your ancient and true Charge and Rule; That You will endure no innovating in the point of Jurisdictions; but will have every Court impaled within their own Presidents, and not assume to themselves new Powers, upon conceits and inventions of Law: The other, That in these high Causes that touch upon State and Monarchy, Your Majesty give them strait charge, That upon any occasions intervenient hereafter, they do not make the vulgar party to

their

their conteſtations, by publick handling them, before they have conſulted with Your Majeſty, to whom the reglement of thoſe things appertaineth. To conclude, I am not without hope, That Your Majeſties managing this buſineſs, according to Your great wiſdom, unto which I acknowledge my ſelf not worthy to be Card-holder, or Candle-holder, will make profit of this accident, as a thing of Gods ſending.

Laſtly, I may not forget to repreſent to Your Majeſty, That there is no thinking of Arraignments, until theſe things be ſomewhat accommodated, and ſome outward and ſuperficial Reconciliation, at leaſt, made between my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Chief Juſtice; for this accident is a Banquet to all *Somerſets* friends. But this is a thing that falleth out naturally of it ſelf, in reſpect of the Judges going Circuit, and my Lord Chancellors infirmity, with hope of recovery. And although this protraction of time may breed ſome doubt of mutability, yet I have lately learned out of an excellent Letter of a certain King, That the Sun ſheweth ſometimes watry to our eyes, but when the Cloud is gone, the Sun is as before. God preſerve Your Majeſty.

Your Majeſties moſt humble Subject,

Febr. 21. 1615.

and moſt bounden Servant.

Your Majeſties Commandment ſpeaketh for pardon of ſo long a Letter; which yet I wiſh may have a ſhort continuance, and be puniſhed with fire.

A Letter to the King, touching matter of Revenue and Profit.

It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

I May remember what *Tacitus* ſaith, by occaſion that *Tiberius* was often and long abſent from *Rome*, *In Urbe, & parva & magna negotia Imperatorem ſimul premunt.* But ſaith he, *in receſſu, dimiſſis rebus minoris momenti, ſummæ rerum magnarum magis agitantur.* This maketh me think, it ſhall be no incivility to trouble your Majeſty with buſineſs, during your aboad from *London*, knowing your Majeſties Meditations are the principal wheel of your eſtate, and being warranted by a former commandment, which I received from you.

I do now only ſend your Majeſty theſe papers incloſed, becauſe I

greatly desire so far forth to preserve my Credit with you, as thus: That whereas lately (perhaps out of too much desire which induceth too much belief) I was bold to say, that I thought it as easie for your Majesty to come out of want, as to go forth of your Gallery, your Majesty would not take me for a dreamer, or a projector. I send your Majesty therefore some grounds of my hopes. And for that paper which I have gathered of increasments *sperate*; I beseech you to give me leave to think, that if any of the particulars do fail, it will be rather for want of workmanship in those that shall deal in them, than want of materials in the things themselves. The other paper hath many discarding cards; and I send it chiefly, that your Majesty may be the less surprized by projectors, who pretend sometimes great discoveries and inventions, in things that have been propounded, and perhaps after a better fashion, long since. God Almighty preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesties most humble and devoted Servant and Subject.

April 25 1610.

Sir Francis Bacon, *the Kings Attorney, to the King, touching the proceeding with* Somerset.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

AT my last access to your Majesty, it was fit for me to consider the time, and your journey; which maketh me now trouble your Majesty with a remnant of that I thought then to have said, besides your old Warrant, and Commission to me, to advertise your Majestie, when you are *aux champs*, of any thing that concern'd your service, and my place. I know your Majestie is *Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus*; and, I confess, in regard of your great judgment (unto which nothing ought to be presented, but well weighed) I could almost wish, that the manner of *Tiberius* were in use again, of whom *Tacitus* saith, *Mos erat quamvis præsentem scripto adire*; much more, in absence.

I said to your Majestie, that which I do now repeat, that the Evidence, upon which my Lord of *Somerset* standeth indicted, is of a good strong thred, considering impoysoning is the darkest of offences; but, that the thred must be well spun, and woven together. For, your Majestie knoweth, it is one thing to deal with a Jury of *Middlesex* and *Londoners*, and another to deal with the Peers, whose objects, perhaps, will not be so much what is before them in the present Case (which, I think,

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is as odious to them as to the vulgar) but what may be hereafter. Beſides, there be two diſadvantages, we that ſhall give in evidence ſhall meet with, ſomewhat conſiderable: the one, that the ſame things, often open'd, loſe their freſhneſs, except there be an aſperſion of ſomewhat that is new; the other is, the expectation raiſed, which makes things ſeem leſs then they are, becauſe they are leſs then opinion. Therefore I were not your Attorney, nor my ſelf, if I ſhould not be very careful, that in this laſt part, which is the pinacle of your former Juſtice, all things may paſs *ſine offendiculo, ſine ſcrupulo.* Hereupon I did move two things, which (having now more fully explained my ſelf) I do in all humbleneſs renew. Firſt, That your Majeſty will be careful to chuſe a Steward of Judgment, that may be able to moderate the Evidence, and cut off Digreſſions; for I may interrupt, but I cannot ſilence: The other, That there may be ſpecial care taken, for the ordering of the Evidence, not only for the knitting, but for the liſt, and (to uſe your Majeſties own word) the confining of it. This to do, if your Majeſtie vouchſafe to direct it your ſelf, that is the beſt; if not, I humbly pray you, to require my Lord Chancellor, that he, together with my Lord Chief Juſtice, will confer with my ſelf, and my fellows, that ſhall be uſed for the marſhalling and bounding of the Evidence; that we may have the help of his opinion, as well as that of my Lord Chief Juſtice, whoſe great travels as I much commend; yet that ſame *Plerophoria*, or over-confidence, doth always ſubject things to a great deal of chance.

There is another buſineſs proper for me to crave of Your Majeſty at this time (as one that have in my eye a great deal of Service to be done) concerning Your caſual Revenue; but conſidering times and perſons, I deſire to be ſtrengthned by ſome ſuch form of Commandment under Your Royal Hand, as I ſend You here incloſed. I moſt humbly pray Your Majeſty, to think that I underſtand my ſelf right well in this which I deſire, and that it tendeth greatly to the good of Your Service. The Warrant I mean not to impart, but upon juſt occaſion. Thus, thirſty to hear of Your Majeſties good health, I reſt.

Jan. 22. 1615.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon, *the Kings Attorney, to Sir* George Villiers, *concerning the proceeding with* Somerſet.

SIR,

I Thought it convenient to give His Majeſty an account of that which His Majeſty gave me in charge in general, reſerving the particulars for His coming. And I find it neceſſary to know His pleaſure in ſome things, ere I could further proceed.

My Lord Chancellor and my ſelf, ſpent *Thurſday* and Yeſterday, the whole Forenoons of both dayes, in the Examination of Sir *Robert Cotton*, whom we find, hitherto, but empty, ſave only in the great point of the Treaty with *Spain*.

This Examination was taken before His Majeſties Warrant came to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, for communicating unto us the Secrets of the Penſions; which Warrant I received Yeſterday morning, being *Friday*, and a meeting was appointed at my Lord Chancellors, in the Evening, after Councel: Upon which Conference, we find matter of further Examination for Sir *Robert Cotton*, of ſome new Articles, whereupon to examine *Somerſet*, and of entring into Examination of Sir *William Mounſon*.

Wherefore, firſt for *Somerſet*, being now ready to proceed to examine him, we ſtay only upon the Duke of *Lenox*, who, it ſeemeth, is fallen ſick, and keepeth in; without whom, we neither think it warranted by His Majeſties direction, nor agreeable to His intention, that we ſhould proceed; for that will want, which ſhould ſweeten the Cup of Medicine, he being his Countrey-man and Friend. Herein then we humbly crave His Majeſties direction with all convenient ſpeed, whether we ſhall expect the Dukes recovery, or proceed by our ſelves; or that His Majeſty will think of ſome other perſon (qualified according to His Majeſties juſt intention) to be joined with us. I remember we had ſpeech with His Majeſty of my Lord *Hay*, and I, for my part, can think of no other, except it ſhould be my Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*; for my Lord *Binning* may be thought too near allied.

I am further to know His Majeſties pleaſure concerning the day: For my Lord Chancellor and I, conceived His Majeſty to have deſigned the *Monday* and *Tueſday* after St. *Georges* Feaſt; and, nevertheleſs, we conceived alſo, That His Majeſty underſtood, that the Examinations of *Somerſet* about this, and otherwiſe, touching the *Spaniſh* practices, ſhould

ſhould firſt be put to a point; which will not be poſſible, as time cometh on, by reaſon of this accident of the Dukes ſickneſs, and the cauſe we find of Sir *William Mounſons* Examination; and that divers of the Peers are to be ſent for from remote places.

It may pleaſe His Majeſty therefore, to take into conſideration, whether the days may not well be put off till Wedneſday and Thurſday after the Term, which endeth on the Munday, being the Wedneſday and Thurſday before *Whitſontide*; or, if that pleaſe not His Majeſty, (in reſpect it may be His Majeſty will be then in Town, whereas theſe Arraignments have been ſtill in His Majeſties abſence from Town) then to take Munday and Tueſday after Trinity-Sunday, being the Munday and Tueſday before Trinity Term.

Now for Sir *William Mounſon*, if it be His Majeſties pleaſure that my Lord Chancellor and I ſhall proceed to the examination of him (for that of the Duke of *Lenox* differs, in that there is not the like cauſe as in that of *Somerſet*) then His Majeſty may be pleaſed to direct his Commandment and Warrant to my Lord Chief Juſtice, to deliver unto me the examinations he took of Sir *William Mounſon*, that thoſe, joyned to the information which we have received from Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, may be full inſtructions unto us for his examination. Further, I pray, let His Majeſty know, that on Thurſday in the evening my Lord Chief Juſtice and my ſelf attended my Lord Chancellor at his houſe, for the ſetling of that ſcruple which His Majeſty moſt juſtly conceived in the Examination of the Lady *Somerſet*; at which time, reſting on His Majeſties opinion, That that Evidence, as it ſtandeth now unclear'd, muſt, *Secundum leges ſanæ Conſcientiæ*, be laid aſide; the queſtion was, Whether we ſhould leave it out? or try what a Re-examination of my Lady *Somerſet* would produce? Whereupon, we agreed upon a Re-examination of my Lady *Somerſet*, which my Lord Chief Juſtice and I, have appointed for *Monday* morning. I was bold, at that meeting, to put my Lord Chief Juſtice a poſing queſtion, which was, Whether that opinion which his Brethren had given upon the whole Evidence, and he had reported to His Majeſty, *viz.* (*That it was good Evidence, in their opinions, to convince my Lord of Somerſet*) was not grounded upon this part of the Evidence now to be omitted, as well as upon the reſt? Who anſwered confidently, That, no: and they never ſaw the expoſition of the Letter, but only the Letter.

The ſame Thurſday evening, before we entred into this laſt matter, and in the preſence of Mr. Secretary *Winwood* (who left us when we went to the former buſineſs) we had conference concerning the frauds

and

and abuſive Grants paſſed to the prejudice of His Majeſties State of Revenue; where my Lord Chief Juſtice made ſome relation of his collections which he had made of that kind; of which I will ſay only this, that I heard nothing that was new to me, and I found my Lord Chancellor, in divers particulars, more ready then I found him. We grew to a diſtribution both of times, and of matters: For we agreed what to begin with preſently, and what ſhould follow; and alſo we had conſideration what was to be holpen by Law, what by Equity, and what by Parliament: Wherein, I muſt confeſs, that in the laſt of theſe (of which my Lord Chief Juſtice made moſt accompt) I make moſt doubt. But the Concluſion was, That upon this entrance, I ſhould adviſe and conferr at large with my Lord Chief Juſtice, and ſet things on work. The particulars I referr till His Majeſties coming.

The learned Councel have attended me now twice at my Chamber, to confer upon that which HisMajeſty gave us in Commandment for our opinions upon the Caſe ſet down by my Lord Chancellor, whether the Statutes extend to it or no. Wherein, we are more and more edified and confirmed, that they do not, and ſhall ſhortly ſend our Report to His Majeſty.

Sir, I hope you will bear me witneſs I have not been idle; but all is nothing to the Duty I owe His Majeſty for his ſingular favours paſt and preſent; ſupplying all with love and prayers, I reſt.

Your true Friend,

April 13. 1616. *and devoted Servant.*

Sir Francis Bacon, *the Kings Attorney, giving account of an Examination taken of* Somerſet *at the Tower.*

SIR,

I Received from you a Letter of very brief and clear directions, and I think it a great bleſſing of God upon me and my labours, that my directions come by ſo clear a Conduit, as they receive no tincture in the paſſage.

Yeſterday, my Lord Chancellor, the *Duke* of *Lenox*, and my ſelf, ſpent the whole afternoon at the Tower, in the examination of *Somerſet*, upon the Articles ſent from his Majeſty, and ſome other additionals, which were in effect contained in the former, but extended to more particularity,

particularity, by occaſion of ſomewhat diſcovered by *Cottons* examination, and Mr. Vice-Chamberlains information.

He is full of proteſtations, and would fain keep that quarter toward *Spain* clear, uſing but this for Argument; That he had ſuch fortunes from his Majeſty, as he could not think of bettering his conditions from *Spain*, becauſe (as he ſaid) he was no military man. He cometh nothing ſo far on (for that whith concerneth the Treaty) as *Cotton*, which doth much aggravate ſuſpicion againſt him. The further particulars I reſerve to his Majeſties coming.

In the end, *tanquam obiter*, but very effectually, my Lord Chancellor put him in minde of the ſtate he ſtood in for the impriſonment; but he was little moved with it, and pretended careleſneſs of life, ſince ignominy had made him unfit for his Majeſties ſervice. I am of opinion, that the fair uſage of him, as it was fit for the *Spaniſh* examinations, and for the queſtions touching the Papers and Diſpatches, and all that; ſo it was no good preparative, to make him deſcend into himſelf touching his preſent danger: and therefore my Lord Chancellor, and my ſelf, thought not good to inſiſt upon it at this time.

I have received from my Lord Chief Juſtice the examinations of Sir *William Mounſon*: with whom we mean to proceed to further examination with all ſpeed.

My Lord Chief Juſtice is altered touching the re-examination of the Lady, and deſired me that we might ſtay till he ſpake with his Majeſty, ſaying, it could be no caſting back to the buſineſs; which I did approve.

My ſelf, with the reſt of my fellows, upon due and mature advice, perfected our Report touching the Chancery; for the receiving whereof, I pray you, put his Majeſty in mind, at his coming, to appoint ſome time for us to wait upon him all together, for the delivery in of the ſame, as we did in our former Certificate.

For the Revenue matters, I reſerve them to his Majeſties coming; and in the mean time, I doubt not but Maſter Secretary *Winwood* will make ſome kind of Report thereof to his Majeſty.

For the concluſion of your Letter, concerning my own comfort, I can ſay but the Pſalm of *Quid retribuam*? God, that giveth me favour in his Majeſties eyes, will ſtrengthen me in his Majeſty ſervice. I ever reſt,

April 18. 1616. *Your true and devoted Servant.*

To requite your Poſt-ſcript of excuſe for ſcribling, I pray you excuſe that the Paper is not gilt, I writing from *Weſtminſter Hall*, where we are not ſo fine.

Sir Francis Bacon, *the Kings Attorney, to Sir* George Villiers, *touching the proceeding with* Somerset.

SIR,

I Have received my Letter from his Majesty, with his marginal notes, which shall be my directions, being glad to perceive I understand his Majesty so well. That little Charm, which may be secretly infused into *Somersets* ear some few hours before his Tryal, was excellently well thought of by his Majesty, and I do approve it, both for matter, and time; only, if it seem good to his Majesty, I would wish it a little enlarged: For, if it be no more but to spare his blood, he hath a kind of proud humour, which may over-work the Medicine. Therefore I could wish it were made a little stronger, by giving him some hope that his Majesty will be good to his Lady and child; and that time (when Justice, and his Majesties Honour, is once salved and satisfied) may produce further fruit of his Majesties compassion; which was to be seen in the example of *Southampton*, whom his Majesty, after attainder, restor'd; and *Cobham* and *Gray*, to whom his Majesty (notwithstanding they were offendors against his own person) yet spared their lives; and for *Gray*, his Majesty gave him back some part of his estate, and was upon point to deliver him much more; he, having been so highly in his Majesties favour, may hope well, if he hurt not himself by his publick misdemeanor.

For the person that should deliver this message, I am not so well seen in the Religion of his friends, as to be able to make choice of a particular; my Lord Treasurer, the Lord *Knolles*, or any of his neerest friends, should not be trusted with it; for they may go too far, and perhaps, work contrary to His Majesties ends. Those which occur to me, are my Lord *Hay*, my Lord *Burghley* (of *England*, I mean) and Sir *Robert Carr*.

My Lady of *Somerset* hath been re-examined, and His Majesty is found both a true Prophet, and a most just King, in that scruple he made: For now she expoundeth the word *He*, that should send the Tarts to *Helwish's* wife, to be of *Overbury*, and not of *Somerset*; But for the person that should bid her, she saith, it was *Northampton* or *Weston*, not pitching upon certainty, which giveth some advantage to the evidence.

Yesterday being Wednesday, I spent 4 or 5 houres with the Judges whom His Majesty designed to take consideration with the four Judges

of

of the Kings Bench, of the Evidence againſt *Somerſet*. They all concurre in opinion, that the queſtioning him, and drawing him on to tryal is moſt honourable and juſt, and that the Evidence is fair and good.

His Majeſties Letter to the Judges concerning the *Commendams* was full of magnanimity and wiſdome. I perceive His Majeſty is never leſs alone, then when he is alone; for I am ſure there was no body by him to informe him, which made me admire it the more.

The Judges have given day over, till the ſecond Saturday of the next term; ſo as that matter may indure further conſideration for His Majeſty, not only not to loſe ground, but to win ground.

To morrow is appointed for the examination of *Somerſet*, which by ſome infirmitie of the Duke of *Lenox*, was put off from this day. When this is done, I will write more fully, ever reſting,

May 2. 1616. *Your true and devoted ſervant.*

Sir Francis Bacon, *the Kings Attorney, to Sir* George Villiers, *of Account and Advice to His Majeſty, touching* Somerſet's *Arraignment.*

SIR,

I Am far enough from opinion, that the *Redintegration* or *Reſuſcitation* of *Somerſets* fortune can ever ſtand with his Majeſties honour and ſafety; and therein I think I expreſt my ſelf fully to his Majeſty in one of my former letters: and I know well any expectation or thought abroad will do much hurt. But yet the glimmering of that which the King hath done to others, by way of talke to him, cannot hurt, as I conceive; but I would not have that part of the Meſſage as from the King, but added by the Meſſenger, as from himſelf. This I remit to His Majeſties Princely judgement.

For the perſon, though he truſt the Lieutenant well, yet it muſt be ſome new man; for in theſe caſes, that which is ordinary, worketh not ſo great impreſſions, as that which is new and extraordinary.

The time I wiſh to be the Tueſday, being the even of his Ladies Arraignment. For as His Majeſty firſt conceived, I would not have it ſtay in his ſtomack too long, leſt it ſowre in the digeſtion; and to be too neer the time, may be thought but to tune him for that day.

I ſend herewithal the ſubſtance of that which I purpoſe to ſay naked-

ly, and only in that part which is of tenderneſs; for that I conceive was His Majeſties meaning.

It will be neceſſary, becauſe I have diſtributed parts to the two Serjeants (as that Paper doth expreſs) and they underſtand nothing of His Majeſties pleaſure, of the manner of carrying the Evidence, more than they may gueſs by obſervation of my Example (which they may aſcribe as much to my nature, as to direction) therefore that His Majeſty would be pleaſed to write ſome few words to us all, ſigned with His own Hand, that the matter it ſelf being Tragical enough, bitterneſs and inſulting be forborn; and that we remember our part, to be to make him Delinquent to the Peers, and not odious to the People. That part of the Evidence of the Ladies Expoſition of the Pronoun (*He*) which was firſt caught hold of by me, and after by His Majeſties ſingular Wiſdom and Conſcience, excepted to, and now is by her Re-examination retracted, I have given order to Serjeant *Montague* (within whoſe part it falleth) to leave it out of the Evidence.

I do yet crave pardon, if I do not certifie touching the point of Law for reſpiting the Judgment, for I have not fully adviſed with my Lord Chancellor concerning it; but I will advertiſe it in time.

I ſend His Majeſty the Lord Stewards Commiſſion in two ſeveral inſtruments; the one to remain with my Lord Chancellor, which is that which is written in Secretary hand for his Warrant, and is to paſs the Signet; the other, that, whereunto the great Seal is to be affixed, which is in Chancery hand. His Majeſty is to ſign them both, and to tranſmit the former to the Signet, if the Secretaries either of them be there; and both of them are to be returned to me with all ſpeed. I ever reſt,

May 5. 1616. *Your true and devoted Servant.*

Sir Francis Bacon, *the Kings Attorney, and ſome great Lords Commiſſioners, concerning the perſwaſion uſed to the Lord of* Somerſet *to a frank Confeſſion.*

It may pleaſe Your Majeſty,

WE have done our beſt endeavours to perform Your Majeſties Commiſſion both in matter and manner, for the examination of

of my Lord of *Somerſet*, wherein that which paſſed (for the general) was to this effect; That he was to know his own Caſe, for that his day of Trial could not be far off; but that this dayes work was that which would conduce to Your Majeſties Juſtice little or nothing, but to Your Mercy much, if he did lay hold upon it; and therefore might do him good, but could do him no hurt: For as for Your Juſtice, there had been taken great and grave opinion, not only of ſuch Judges as he may think violent, but of the moſt ſaddeſt and moſt temperate of the Kingdom, who ought to underſtand the ſtate of the proofs, that the Evidence was full to convict him, ſo as there needed neither Confeſſion, nor ſupply of Examination. But for Your Majeſties Mercy (although he were not to expect we ſhould make any promiſe) we did aſſure him, That Your Majeſty was compaſſionate of him, if he gave you ſome ground whereon to work; that as long as he ſtood upon his Innocency, and Tryal, Your Majeſty was tyed in Honour to proceed according to Juſtice, and that he little underſtood (being a cloſe Priſoner) how much the expectation of the World, beſides Your love to Juſtice it ſelf, engaged Your Majeſty, whatſoever Your inclination were; but nevertheleſs, that a frank and clear Confeſſion might open the gate of Mercy, and help to ſatisfie the point of Honour.

That his Lady (as he knew, and that after many Oaths, and Imprecations to the contrary) had nevertheleſs in the end, been touched with remorſe, confeſſed, that ſhe that led him to offend, might lead him likewiſe to repent of his offence. That the confeſſion of one of them could not fitly do either of them much good; but the confeſſion of both of them might work ſome further effect towards both. And therefore, in concluſion, we wiſhed him not to ſhut the gate of your Majeſties mercy againſt himſelf, by being obdurate any longer. This was the effect of that which was ſpoken, part by one of us, part by another, as it fell out: adding further, that he might well diſcern who ſpake in us, in the courſe we held; for that Commiſſioners of Examination might not preſume ſo far of themſelves.

Not to trouble Your Majeſty with Circumſtances of his Anſwers, the ſequel was no other, but that we found him ſtill not to come any degree further on to confeſs; only his Behaviour was very ſober and modeſt, and mild (differing apparently from other times) but yet, as it ſeem'd, reſolv'd to expect his Tryal.

Then did we proceed to examine him upon divers Queſtions touching the Impoyſonment, which indeed were very material, and ſupplemental to the former Evidence; wherein either his Affirmatives gave ſome light, or his Negatives do greatly falſifie him, in that which is apparently proved.

We

We made this further obſervation, That when we asked him ſome Queſtion that did touch the Prince, or ſome Forrain practice (which we did very ſparingly at this time) yet he grew a little ſtirred; but in the Queſtions of the Impoyſonment, very cold and modeſt. Thus not thinking it neceſſary to trouble Your Majeſty with any further particulars, we end with Prayer to God ever to preſerve Your Majeſty.

Your Majeſties moſt Loyal,
and Faithful Servant, &c.

If it ſeem good unto Your Majeſty, we think it not amiſs ſome Preacher (well choſen) had acceſs to my Lord of *Somerſet*, for his preparing and comfort, although it be before his Tryal.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to the King, upon ſome inclination of His Majeſty, ſignified to him for the Chancellors place.*

It may pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

THe laſt day when it pleaſed Your Majeſty to expreſs your ſelf towards me in favour, far above that I can deſerve, or could expect, I was ſurpriſed by the Princes coming in; I moſt humbly pray Your Majeſty, therefore, to accept theſe few lines of acknowledgement.

I never had great thoughts for my ſelf, further then to maintain thoſe great thoughts which I confeſs I have for your ſervice. I know what honour is, and I know what the times are; but I thank God, with me my ſervice is the principal; and it is far from me, under honourable pretences, to cover baſe deſires, which I account them to be, when men refer too much to themſelves, eſpecially ſerving ſuch a King. I am afraid of nothing, but that the Maſter of the Horſe, your excellent ſervant, and my ſelf, ſhall fall out about this, who ſhall hold your Stirrup beſt: but were Your Majeſty mounted, and ſeated without difficulties and diſtaſtes in your buſineſs, as I deſire and hope to ſee you, I ſhould *ex animo*, deſire to ſpend the decline of my years in my ſtudies, wherein alſo I ſhould not forget to do him honour, who beſides his active and politick vertues, is the beſt pen of Kings, and much more the beſt ſubject of a pen. God ever preſerve Your Majeſty.

Your Majeſties moſt humble Subject,
April. 1. 1616. *and more and more obliged Servant,*

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon, *the Kings Attorney, returned with Poſtils of the Kings own Hand.*

It may pleaſe Your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

YOur Majeſty hath put upon me a work of providence in this great Cauſe, which is to break and diſtinguiſh future events into preſent Caſes, and ſo to preſent them to your Royal Judgement, that in this action which hath been carried with ſo great Prudence, Juſtice and Clemency, there may be (for that which remaineth) as little ſurprize as is poſſible, but that things duly foreſeen may have their remedies and directions in readineſs; wherein I cannot forget what the *Poet Martial* ſaith; *O! quantum eſt ſubitis caſibus ingenium!* ſignifying, that accident is many times more ſubtil then foreſight, and overreacheth expectation; and beſides, I know very well the meanneſs of my own Judgment, in comprehending or forecaſting what may follow.

It was Your Majeſties pleaſure, alſo, that I ſhould couple the ſuppoſitions with my opinion in every of them, which is a harder taske; but yet Your Majeſties commandment requireth my obedience, and your truſt giveth me aſſurance.

I will put the caſe which I wiſh; That *Somerſet* ſhould make a clear Confeſſion of his offences, before he be produced to Tryal.

REX. *I ſay with* Apollo, Media tutius itur, *if it may ſtand with Law; and if it cannot, when I ſhall hear that he confeſſeth, I am then to make choice of the firſt, or the laſt.*

In this caſe, it ſeemeth your Majeſty will have a new conſult. The points whereof will be, (1) whether your Majeſty will ſtay the Trial, and ſo ſave them both from the Stage, and that publique Ignominy. Or, (2) whether you will (or may fitly by Law) have the Trial proceed, and ſtay or reprieve the Judgment; which ſaveth the Lands from forfeiture, and the blood from corruption. Or, (3) whether you will have both Trial and Judgment proceed, and ſave the blood only, not from corrupting, but from ſpilling.

Theſe

Theſe be the depths of your Majeſties mercy which I may not enter into; but for honour and reputation, they have theſe grounds.

That the blood of *Overbury* is already revenged by divers Executions.

That Confeſſion and Penitency are the foot-ſtools of Mercy, adding this circumſtance likewiſe, that the former offenders did none of them make a clear confeſſion.

That the great downfal of ſo great perſons carrieth, in it ſelf, a heavie puniſhment, and a kind of civil death, although their lives ſhould not be taken.

All which may ſatisfie honour, for ſparing their lives.

But if your Majeſties mercy ſhould extend to the firſt degree, which is the higheſt, of ſparing the Stage and the Trial; Then three things are to be conſidered.

REX. *This Article cannot be mended in point thereof.*

Firſt, that they make ſuch a ſubmiſſion or deprecation, as they proſtrate themſelves, and all that they have, at your Majeſties feet, imploring your mercy.

Secondly, that your Majeſty, in your own wiſdom, do adviſe what courſe you will take, for the utter extinguiſhing of all hope of reſuſcitating of their fortunes and favour; whereof if there ſhould be the leaſt conceit, it will leave in men a great deal of envie, and diſcontent.

And laſtly, whether your Majeſtie will not ſuffer it to be thought abroad, that there is cauſe of further examination of *Somerſet*, concerning matters of Eſtate, after he ſhall begin once to be a Confeſſant, and ſo make as well a Politick ground, as a ground of Clemencie, for further ſtay.

And for the ſecond degree of proceeding to Trial, and ſtaying Judgment, I muſt better inform my ſelf, by preſidents, and adviſe with my Lord Chancellor.

The

The ſecond Caſe is, if that fall out which is likeſt (as things ſtand, and which we expect) which is, that the Lady Confeſs: and that *Somerſet* himſelf plead not guilty, and be found guilty.

REX. *If ſtay of Judgment can ſtand with the Law, I would even wiſh it in this Caſe; In all the reſt this Article cannot be mended.*

In this Caſe, firſt, I ſuppoſe your Majeſty will not think of any ſtay of judgment, but that the publique proceſs of Juſtice paſs on.

Secondly, for your Mercie to be extended to both, for pardon of their execution, I have partly touched, in the conſiderations applyed to the former Caſe; whereunto may be added, that as there is ground of mercy for her, upon her penitency and free Confeſſion, and will be much more upon his finding guilty, becauſe the malice on his part will be thought the deeper ſource of the offence; So there will be ground for Mercie, on his part, upon the nature of the proof, becauſe it reſts chiefly upon Preſumptions. For certainly, there may be an Evidence ſo ballanced, as it may have ſufficient matter for the Conſcience of the Peers to convict him, and yet leave ſufficient matter in the Conſcience of a King upon the ſame Evidence, to pardon his life; becauſe the Peers are aſtringed by neceſſity, either to acquit or condemn; but Grace is free. And for my part, I think the evidence in this preſent Caſe will be of ſuch a nature.

Thirdly, It ſhall be my care ſo to moderate the manner of charging him, as it might make him not odious beyond the extent of Mercy.

Laſtly, all theſe points of Mercy and favour are to be underſtood with this limitation, if he do not, by his contemptuous and inſolent carriage at the Bar, make himſelf uncapable and unworthy of them.

REX. *That danger is well to be foreſeen, leſt he upon the one part commit impardonable Errors, and I on the other part ſeem to puniſh him in the ſpirit of revenge.*

The third Caſe is, if he ſhould ſtand mute, and will not plead, whereof

In this caſe, I ſhould think fit, that, as in publique, both my ſelf, and chiefly my Lord Chancellor (ſitting then as Lord Steward of

your Majeſty knoweth there hath been ſome ſecret queſtion.

REX. *This Article cannot be mended.*

The fourth Caſe is that, which I ſhould be very ſorry ſhould happen; but it is a future contingent, that is, if the Peers ſhould acquit him, and finde him not guilty.

REX. *This is ſo alſo.*

England) ſhould dehort and deter him from that deſperation; ſo nevertheleſs, that as much ſhould be done for him, as was done for *Weſton*, which was to adjourn the Court ſome dayes, upon a Chriſtian ground, that he may have time to turn from that mind of deſtroying himſelf; during which time your Majeſties further pleaſure may be known.

In this Caſe, the Lord Steward muſt be provided what to do. For as it hath been never ſeen, (as I conceive it) that there ſhould be any rejecting of the Verdict, or any reſpiting of the judgment of the acquittal, ſo on the other ſide, this Caſe requireth, that becauſe there be many high and heinous offences (though not Capital) for which he may be queſtioned in the Star-Chamber, or otherwiſe, that there be ſome touch of that in general, at the concluſion, by my Lord Steward of *England*. And that therefore he be remanded to the *Tower*, as cloſe Priſoner.

For matter of examination, or other proceedings, my Lord Chancellor, with my advice hath ſet down.

To morrow, being Monday, For the Re-examination of the Lady.
Wedneſday next, for the meeting of the Judges, concerning the Evidence.
Thurſday, for the Examination of *Somerſet* himſelf, according to Your Majeſties Inſtructions.

Which three parts, when they ſhall be performed, I will give Your Majeſty advertiſement with ſpeed, and in the mean time be glad to receive from Your Majeſty (whom it is my part to inform truly) ſuch directions, or ſignifications of Your pleaſure, as this advertiſement may induce, and that with ſpeed, becauſe the time cometh on. Well remembring who is the perſon whom Your Majeſty admitted to this ſecret; I have ſent this Letter open unto him, that he may take Your Majeſties times to report it, or ſhew it unto You, aſſuring my ſelf, that nothing is more

more firm than his Truſt, tyed to Your Majeſties Commandments.

Your Majeſties moſt humble,

April 28. 1616.

and moſt bounden Subject and Servant.

The Copy of a Letter, conceived to be written to the late Duke of Buckingham, *when he firſt became a Favourite to King* James, *by Sir* Francis Bacon, *afterwards Lord* Verulam, *and Viſcount* St. Alban: *Containing ſome Advices unto the Duke, for his better direction in that eminent place of the Favourite; Drawn from him at the intreaty of the Duke himſelf, by much importunity.*

Noble S I R,

WHAT you requeſted of me by word, when I laſt waited on you, you have ſince renewed by your Letters. Your requeſts are commands unto me; and yet the matter is of that nature, that I find my ſelf very unable to ſerve you therein, as you deſire. It hath pleaſed the King to caſt an extraordinary eye of favour upon you, and you expreſs your ſelf very deſirous to win upon the Judgment of your Maſter, and not upon his Affections only. I do very much commend your noble ambition herein; for, Favour ſo bottomed, is like to be laſting; whereas, if it be built upon the ſandy foundation of perſonal reſpects only, it cannot be long-lived.

Yet in this you have erred, in applying your ſelf to me, the moſt unworthy of your ſervants, to give aſſiſtance upon ſo weighty a ſubject.

You know, I am no Courtier, nor vers'd in State-affairs,; my life, hitherto, hath rather been contemplative, then active; I have rather ſtudied Books, then Men; I can but gueſs, at the moſt, at theſe things, in which you deſire to be adviſed: Nevertheleſs, to ſhew my obedience, though with the hazard of my diſcretion, I ſhall yield unto you.

Sir, In the firſt place, I ſhall be bold to put you in minde of the preſent condition you are in; you are not only a Courtier, but a Bed-Chamber man, and ſo are in the eye and eare of Your Maſter; but you are alſo a favourite; The Favourite of the time, and ſo are in his boſome alſo; The world hath ſo voted you, and doth ſo eſteem of you, (for Kings

and great Princes, even the wiſeſt of them, have had their friends, their Favourites, their Privadoes, in all ages; for they have their affections, as well as other men) of theſe they make ſeveral uſes: ſometimes to communicate and debate their thoughts with them, and to ripen their judgments thereby; ſometimes to eaſe their cares by imparting them; and ſometimes to interpoſe them, between themſelves and the envy or malice of their people (for Kings cannot erre, that muſt be diſcharged upon the ſhoulders of their Miniſters; and they who are neereſt unto them muſt be content to bear the greateſt load;) Truly Sir, I do not believe or ſuſpect that you are choſen to this eminency, out of the laſt of theſe conſiderations; for you ſerve ſuch a Maſter, who by his Wiſdom and Goodneſs, is as free from the malice or envy of His Subjects, as, I think I may ſay truly, ever any King was, who hath ſate upon His Throne before him: But I am confident, his Majeſty hath caſt His eys upon you, as finding you to be ſuch as you ſhould be, or hoping to make you to be ſuch as he would have you to be; for this I may ſay without flattery, your out-ſide promiſeth as much as can be expected from a Gentleman: But be it in the one reſpect, or other, it belongeth to you to take care of your ſelf, and to know well what the name of a Favourite ſignifies; If you be choſen upon the former reſpects, you have reaſon to take care of your actions, and deportment, out of your gratitude, for the Kings ſake; but if out of the latter, you ought to take the greater care, for your own ſake.

You are as a new-riſen ſtarre, and the eys of all men are upon you; let not your own negligence make you fall like a Meteor.

The contemplation then of your preſent condition muſt neceſſarily prepare you for action; what time can be well ſpar'd from your attendance on Your Maſter will be taken up by ſuitors, whom you cannot avoid, nor decline, without reproach; for if you do not already, you will ſoon find the throng of ſuitors attend you; for no man, almoſt, who hath to do with the King, will think himſelf ſafe, unleſs you be his good Angel, and guide him, or, at leaſt, that you be not a *Malus Genius* againſt him; ſo that, in reſpect of the King Your Maſter, you muſt be very wary, that you give him true information; and if the matter concern him in his Government, that you do not flatter him; if you do, you are as great a Traytor to him, in the Court of Heaven, as he that draws his ſword againſt him; and in reſpect of the ſuitors which ſhall attend you, there is nothing will bring you more honour and more eaſe, then to do them what right in juſtice you may, and with as much ſpeed as you may; for believe it, Sir, next to the obtaining of the ſuit, a ſpeedy and a gentle denial (when the caſe will not bear it) is the moſt acceptable to ſuitors;

they

they will gaine by their diſpatch; whereas elſe they ſhall ſpend their time and money in attending; and you will gaine in the eaſe you will find being rid of their importunity. But if they obtain what they reaſonably deſired, they will be doubly bound to you for your favour; *Bis dat qui cito dat*, it multiplies the courteſie, to do it with good words, and ſpeedily.

That you may be able to do this with the beſt advantage, my humble advice is this; when Suitors come unto you, ſet apart a certain hour in a day to give them Audience: If the buſineſs be light and eaſie, it may by word only be delivered, and in a word be anſwered; but if it be either of weight, or of difficulty, direct the Suitor to commit it to writing (if it be not ſo already) and then direct him to attend for his Anſwer at a ſet-time to be appointed, which would conſtantly be obſerved, unleſs ſome matter of great moment do interrupt it; when you have received the Petitions (and it will pleaſe the Petitioners well, to have acceſs unto you to deliver them into your own hand) let your Secretary firſt read them, and draw lines under the material parts thereof (for the matter, for the moſt part, lies in a narrow room.) The Petitions being thus prepared, do you conſtantly ſet apart an hour in a day to peruſe thoſe Petitions, and after you have ranked them into ſeveral Files, according to the ſubject matter, make choice of two or three Friends, whoſe judgments and fidelities you believe you may truſt in a buſineſs of that nature, and recommend it to one or more of them, to inform you of their opinions, and of their reaſons for or againſt the granting of it; and if the matter be of great weight indeed, then it would not be amiſs to ſend ſeveral Copies of the ſame Petition to ſeveral of your Friends, the one not knowing what the other doth, and deſire them to return their Anſwers to you by a certain time, to be prefixed in writing; ſo ſhall you receive an impartial Anſwer, and by comparing the one with the other, you ſhall both diſcern the Abilities and Faithfulneſs of your Friends, and be able to give a judgment thereupon as an Oracle. But by no means truſt not your own judgment alone, for no man is omniſcient; nor truſt only to your Servants, who may miſlead you, or miſinform you; by which they may perhaps gain a few Crowns, but the Reproach will lie upon your ſelf, if it be not rightly carried.

For the facilitating of your diſpatches, my Advice is further, that you divide all the Petitions, and the matters therein contained, under ſeveral Heads, which, I conceive, may be fitly ranked into theſe eight ſorts.

1. Matters that concern Religion, and the Church and Churchmen.

2. Matters

2. Matters concerning Juſtice, and the Laws, and the Profeſſors thereof.

3. Councellors, and the Councel-table, and the great Offices, and Officers of the Kingdom.

4. Forrain Negotiations and Embaſſies.

5. Peace and War, both Forrain and Civil, and in that the Navy and Forts, and what belongs to them.

6. Trade at home and abroad.

7. Colonies, or Forrain Plantations.

8. The Court, and Curiality.

And whatſoever will not fall naturally under one of theſe Heads, believe me, Sir, will not be worthy of your thoughts, in this capacity we now ſpeak of. And of theſe ſorts, I warrant you, you will find enough to keep you in buſineſs.

I begin with the firſt, which concerns Religion.

1. In the firſt place, be you your ſelf rightly perſwaded and ſetled in the true Proteſtant Religion, profeſſed by the Church of *England*; which doubtleſs is as ſound and orthodox in the Doctrine thereof, as any Chriſtian Church in the World.

2. In this you need not be a Monitor to Your gracious Maſter the King; the chiefeſt of His imperial Titles, is, to be *The Defender of the Faith*; and His Learning is eminent, not only above other Princes, but above other men; be but his Scholar, and you are ſafe in that.

3. For the Diſcipline of the Church of *England* by Biſhops, *&c.* I will not poſitively ſay, as ſome do, that it's *Jure Divino*; but this I ſay, and think, *ex animo*, that it is the neareſt to Apoſtolical Truth; and confidently I ſhall ſay, it is fitteſt for Monarchy, of all others: I will uſe no other Authority to you, than that excellent Proclamation ſet out by the King Himſelf in the firſt Year of His Reign, and annexed before the Book of *Common-Prayer*, which I deſire you to read; and if at any time there ſhall be the leaſt motion made for Innovation, to put the King in mind to read it Himſelf: It is moſt dangerous in a State, to give ear to the leaſt alterations in Government.

4. Take heed, I beſeech you, that you be not an inſtrument to countenance the *Romiſh Catholicks*; I cannot flatter, the world believes that ſome near in blood to you are too much of that perſwaſion; you muſt uſe them with fit reſpects, according to the bonds of nature; but you are of kin, and ſo a Friend to their Perſons, not to their Errours.

5. The Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, next under the King, have the Government of the Church, and Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; be not you the

mean

mean to prefer any to thoſe places, for any by-reſpects; but only for their Learning, Gravity and Worth; their Lives and Doctrine ought to be exemplary.

6. For Deans, and Canons or Prebends of Cathedral Churches: In their firſt inſtitution they were of great uſe in the Church; they were not only to be of councel with the Biſhop for his revenue, but chiefly for his Government in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; uſe your beſt means to preferre ſuch to thoſe places who are fit for that purpoſe, men eminent for their learning, piety, and diſcretion, and put the King often in minde thereof; and let them be reduced again to their firſt inſtitution.

7. You will be often ſollicited, and parhaps importuned to preferre Scholars to Church-living; you may further your friends in that way, *cæteris paribus*; otherwiſe, remember, I pray, that theſe are not places meerly of favour, the charge of ſouls lies upon them; the greateſt account whereof will be required at their own hands; but they will ſhare deeply in their faults, who are the inſtruments of their Preferment.

8. Beſides the Romiſh Catholicks, there is a generation of Sectaries, the Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, and others, of their kinds; they have been ſeveral times very buſie in this Kingdom, under the colour of zeal for reformation of Religion: The King your Maſter knows their diſpoſion very well; a ſmall touch will put him in mind of them; he had experience of them in *Scotland*, I hope he will beware of them in *England*; a little countenance or connivency ſets them on fire.

9. Order and decent ceremonies in the Church, are not only comely, but commendable; but there muſt be great care, not to introduce innovations, they will quickly prove ſcandalous, men are naturally overprone to ſuſpition; the true Proteſtant Religion is ſeated in the golden mean; the enemies unto her, are the extreams on either hand.

10. The perſons of Church-men are to be had in due reſpect, for their works ſake, and protected from ſcorn; but if a Clergie man be looſe and ſcandalous, he muſt not be patronized nor winck't at, the example of a few ſuch, corrupt many.

11. Great care muſt be takan, that the patrimony of the Church be not ſacrilegiouſly diverted to lay uſes: His Majeſty in his time hath religiouſly ſtopped a leak that did much harm, and would elſe have done more. Be ſure, as much as in you lies, ſtop the like upon all occaſions.

12. Colledges and Schools of learning are to be cheriſhed, and encouraged, there to breed up a new ſtock to furniſh the Church and Common-wealth, when the old ſtore are tranſplanted. This Kingdom hath

bath in latter ages been famous for good literature; and if preferment ſhall attend the deſervers, there will not want ſupplies.

Next to Religion, let your care be to promote Juſtice. By Juſtice and mercy is The Kings throne eſtabliſhed.

1. Let the rule of Juſtice be the Laws of the Land, an impartial arbiter between the King and his people, and between one Subject and another: I ſhall not ſpeak ſuperlatively of them, leſt I be ſuſpected of partiality, in regard of my own profeſſion; but this I may truly ſay, they are ſecond to none in the Chriſtian world.

2. And, as far as it may lie in you, let no Arbitrary power be intruded; the people of this Kingdome love the Laws thereof, and nothing will oblige them more, then a confidence of the free enjoying of them; What the Nobles, upon an occaſion, once ſaid in Parliament, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, is imprinted in the hearts of all the people.

3. But becauſe the life of the Lawes lies in the due execution and adminiſtration of them, let your eye be, in the firſt place, upon the choice of good Judges; Theſe properties had they need to be furniſhed with; To be learned in their profeſſion, patient in hearing, prudent in governing, powerful in their elocution to perſwade and ſatisfie both the parties and hearers, juſt in their judgement: and, to ſum up all, they muſt have theſe three Attributes; They muſt be men of courage, fearing God, and hating covetouſneſs; An ignorant man cannot, a Coward dares not be a good Judge.

4. By no means be you perſwaded to interpoſe your ſelf, either by word or letter, in any cauſe depending, or like to be depending in any Court of Juſtice, nor ſuffer any other great man to do it where you can hinder it, and by all means diſſwade the King himſelf from it, upon the importunity of any for themſelves or their friends; If it ſhould prevail, it perverts juſtice; but if the Judge be ſo juſt, and of ſuch courage (as he ought to be) as not to be inclined thereby, yet it alwayes leaves a taint of ſuſpition behind it; Judges muſt be as chaſte as *Cæſars* wife, neither to be, nor to be ſuſpected to be, unjuſt; and Sir, the honour of the Judges in their judicature, is the Kings honour, whoſe perſon they repreſent.

5. There is great uſe of the ſervice of the Judges in their circuits, which are twice in the year held throughout the Kingdome; the trial of a few cauſes between party and party, or delivering of the gaols in the ſeveral Counties, are of great uſe for the expedition of juſtice; yet they are of much more uſe for the government of the Counties through which they paſſe, if that were well thought upon.

6. For if they had inſtructions to that purpoſe, they might be the beſt

beſt intelligencers to the King of the true ſtate of his whole Kingdom of the diſpoſition of the people, of their inclinations, of their intentions and motions, which are neceſſary to be truly underſtood.

7. To this end, I could wiſh, that againſt every Circuit, all the Judges ſhould, ſometimes by the King himſelf, and ſometimes by the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper, in the Kings Name, receive a charge of thoſe things which the preſent times did much require: and at their return, ſhould deliver a faithful Account thereof, and how they found and left the Counties through which they paſſed, and in which they kept their Aſſizes.

8. And that they might the better perform this work, which might be of great importance, it will not be amiſs that ſometimes this Charge be publick, as it uſeth to be in the Star-Chamber at the end of the Terms next before the Circuit begins, where the Kings care of Juſtice, and the good of his People, may be publiſhed; and that ſometimes alſo it may be private, to communicate to the Judges ſome things not ſo fit to be publickly delivered.

9. I could wiſh alſo that the Judges were directed to make a little longer ſtay in a place than uſually they do; a day more in a County would be a very good addition (although their wages for their Circuits were increaſed in proportion) it would ſtand better with the Gravity of their imployment; whereas now they are ſometimes enforced to riſe over-early, and to ſit over-late, for the diſpatch of their buſineſs, to the extraordinary trouble of themſelves, and of the people, their times indeed not being *horæ juridicæ*; And, which is the main, they would have the more leiſure to inform themſelves (*quaſi aliud agentes*) of the true eſtate of the Countrey.

10. The attendance of the Sheriffs of the Counties, accompanied with the principal Gentlemen, in a comely, not a coſtly equipage, upon the Judges of Aſſize at their coming to the place of their ſitting, and at their going out, is not only a Civility, but of uſe alſo: It raiſeth a Reverence to the perſons and places of the Judges, who coming from the King Himſelf on ſo great an Errand, ſhould not be neglected.

11. If any ſue to be made a Judge, for my own part, I ſhould ſuſpect him; but if either directly or indirectly he ſhould bargain for a place of Judicature, let him be rejected with ſhame; *Vendere jure poteſt, emerat ille prius.*

12. When the place of a chief Judge of a Court becomes vacant, a puiſne Judge of that Court, or of another Court, who hath approved himſelf fit and deſerving, would be ſometimes preferred, it would be a good encouragement for him, and for others, by his example.

13. Next to the Judge, there would be care uſed in the choice of ſuch as are called to the degree of Serjeants at Law (for ſuch they muſt be firſt, before they be made Judges) none ſhould be made Serjeants, but ſuch as probably might be held fit to be Judges afterwards, when the experience at the Bar hath fitted them for the Bench: Therefore by all means cry down that unworthy courſe of late times uſed, that they ſhould pay moneys for it: It may ſatisfie ſome Courtiers, but it is no Honour to the perſon ſo preferred, nor to the King who thus prefers them.

14. For the Kings Councel at the Law, eſpecially His Attorney and Sollicitor General, I need ſay nothing; their continual uſe for the Kings Service, not only for His Revenue, but for all the parts of His Government, will put the King, and thoſe who love His Service, in mind to make choice of men every way fit and able for that Employment; they had need to be learned in their Profeſſion, and not ignorant in other things; and to be dextrous in thoſe Affairs whereof the diſpatch is committed to them.

15. The Kings Attorney of the Court of Wards is in the true quality of the Judges; therefore what hath been obſerved already of Judges, which are intended principally of the three great Courts of Law at *Weſtminſter*, may be applied to the choice of the Attorney of this Court.

16. The like for the Attorney of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, who partakes of both qualities, partly of a Judge in that Court, and partly of an Attorney General, for ſo much as concerns the proper Revenue of the Dutchy.

17. I muſt not forget the Judges of the four Circuits in the twelve Shires of *Wales*, who, although they are not of the firſt Magnitude, nor need be of the degree of the Coyfe (only the Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*, who is one of their number, is ſo) yet are they conſiderable in the choice of them, by the ſame Rules as the other Judges are; and they ſometimes are, and fitly may be, tranſplanted into the higher Courts.

18. There are many Courts (as you ſee) ſome ſuperior, ſome provincial, and ſome of a lower orb: It were to be wiſhed, and is fit to be ſo ordered, that every of them keep themſelves within their proper ſpheres. The harmony of Juſtice is then the ſweeteſt, when there is no jarring about the Juriſdiction of the Courts, which methinks wiſdom cannot much differ upon, their true bounds being for the moſt part ſo clearly known.

19. Having ſaid thus much of the Judges, ſomewhat will be fit to put you

you in mind concerning the principal Miniſters of Juſtice; and in the firſt, of the High-Sheriffs of the Counties, which have been very Ancient in this Kingdom, I am ſure before the Conqueſt: The choice of them I commend to your care, and that at fit times you put the King in mind thereof; that as near as may be, they be ſuch as are fit for thoſe places, for they are of great Truſt and Power; the *Poſſe Comitatus*, the Power of the whole County, being legally committed unto him.

20. Therefore it is agreeable with the intention of the Law, that the choice of them ſhould be by the commendation of the great Officers of the Kingdom, and by the Advice of the Judges, who are preſumed to be well read in the condition of the Gentry of the whole Kingdom: And although the King may do it of himſelf, yet the old way is the good way.

21. But I utterly condemn the practice of the latter times, which hath lately crept into the Court (at the Back-ſtairs) that ſome who are prick'd for Sheriffs, and were fit, ſhould get out of the Bill, and others who were neither thought upon, nor worthy to be, ſhould be nominated, and both for money.

22. I muſt not omit to put you in mind of the Lords Lieutenants, and deputy Lieutenants, of the Counties: their proper uſe is for ordering the military affairs, in order to an invaſion from abroad, or a rebellion or ſedition at home; good choice ſhould be made of them, and prudent inſtructions given to them, and as little of the Arbitrary power as may be left unto them; and that the Muſter-Maſters, and other Officers under them, incroach not upon the Subject; that will detract much from the Kings ſervice.

23. The Juſtices of peace are of great uſe; Anciently there were Conſervators of the peace, theſe are the ſame, ſaving that ſeveral Acts of Parliament have altered their denomination, and enlarged their juriſdiction in many particulars: The fitter they are for the Peace of the Kingdom, the more heed ought to be taken in the choice of them.

24. But negatively, this I ſhall be bold to ſay, that none ſhould be put into either of thoſe Commiſſions with an eye of favour to their perſons, to give them countenance or reputation in the places where they live, but for the Kings ſervice ſake; nor any put out for the diſ-favour of any great man: It hath been too often uſed, and hath been no good ſervice to the King.

25. A word more, if you pleaſe, to give me leave, for the true rules of the moderation of Juſtice on the Kings part. The execution of Juſtice is committed to his Judges, which ſeemeth to be the ſeverer part; but the milder

part, which is mercy, is wholly left in the Kings immediate hand: And Juſtice and Mercy are the true ſupporters of his Royal Throne.

26. If the King ſhall be wholly intent upon Juſtice, it may appear with an over-rigid aſpect; but if he ſhall be over remiſs and eaſie, it draweth upon him contempt. Examples of Juſtice muſt be made ſometimes for terrour to ſome; Examples of mercy, ſometimes, for comfort to others: the one procures fear, and the other love. A King muſt be both feared and loved, elſe he is loſt.

27. The ordinary Courts of Juſtice I have ſpoken of, and of their Judges and judicature, I ſhall put you in mind of ſome things, touching the High Court of Parliament in *England*, which is ſuperlative; and therefore it will behove me to ſpeak the more warily thereof.

28. For the inſtitution of it, it is very antient in this Kingdom: It conſiſteth of the two Houſes, of Peers and Commons, as the Members, and of the Kings Majeſty, as the head of that great body; By the Kings Authority alone, and by his Writs, they are Aſſembled, and by him alone are they Prorogued and Diſſolved; but each Houſe may Adjourn it ſelf.

29. They being thus Aſſembled, are more properly a Councel to the King, the great Councel of the Kingdom, to adviſe his Majeſty in thoſe things of weight and difficulty, which concern both the King and People, then a Court.

30. No new Laws can be made, nor old Laws abrogated or altered, but by common Conſent in Parliament, where Bills are prepared and preſented to the two Houſes, and then delivered, but nothing is concluded but by the Kings Royal aſſent; They are but Embryos, 'tis he giveth life unto them.

31. Yet the Houſe of Peers hath a power of Judicature in ſome caſes; properly, to examine, and then to affirm; or if there be cauſe to reverſe the judgments which have been given in the Court of Kings Bench, (which is the Court of higheſt juriſdiction in the Kingdom, for ordinary judicature) but in theſe caſes it muſt be done by Writ of Error *in Parliamento*: And thus the rule of their proceedings is not *abſoluta poteſtas*, as in making new Laws (in that conjuncture as before) but *limitata poteſtas*; according to the known Laws of the Land.

32. But the Houſe of Commons have only power to cenſure the Members of their own Houſe, in point of election or miſdemeanors, in or towards that Houſe; and have not, nor ever had power, ſo much as to adminiſter an oath to prepare a judgment.

33. The true uſe of Parliaments in this Kingdom is very excellent; and they would be often called, as the affairs of the Kingdom ſhall require;

quire; and continued as long as is neceſſary, and no longer; for then they be but burthens to the people, by reaſon of the priviledges juſtly due to the Members of the two Houſes and their attendants, which their juſt rights and priviledges are religiouſly to be obſerved and maintained; but if they ſhould be unjuſtly enlarged beyond their true bounds, they might leſſen the juſt power of the Crown, it borders ſo near upon popularity.

34. All this while I have ſpoken concerning the Common Laws of *England*, generally, and properly ſo called, becauſe it is moſt general and common to almoſt all caſes and cauſes, both civil and criminal: But there is alſo another Law, which is called the Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Law, which is confined to ſome few heads; and that is not to be neglected: and although I am a profeſſor of the Common Law, yet am I ſo much a lover of truth and of Learning, and of my native Countrey, that I do heartily perſwade that the profeſſors of that Law, called Civilians (becauſe the Civil Law is their guide) ſhould not be diſcountenanced nor diſcouraged; elſe whenſoever we ſhall have ought to do with any forreign King or State, we ſhall be at a miſerable loſs, for want of Learned men in that profeſſion.

III. I come now to the conſideration of thoſe things which concern Councellors of State, The Council Table, and the great Offices and Officers of the Kingdom, which are thoſe who for the moſt part furniſh out the honourable Board.

1. Of Councellors, there are two ſorts: The firſt, *Conſiliarii nati*, (as I may term them) ſuch are the Prince of *Wales*, and others of the Kings Sons (when he hath more;) of theſe I ſpeak not, for they are naturally born to be Councellors to the King, to learn the Art of Governing betimes.

2. But the ordinary ſort of Councellors are ſuch as the King, out of a due conſideration of their worth and abilities, and withal, of their fidelities to his perſon and his Crown, calleth to be of Councel with him, in his ordinary Government. And the Councel Table is ſo called from the place where they ordinarily aſſemble and ſit together; and their Oath is the only ceremony uſed, to make them ſuch, which is ſolemnly given unto them, at their firſt admiſſion: Theſe honourable perſons are from thenceforth of that Board and Body: They cannot come until they be thus called, and the King at his pleaſure may ſpare their attendance; and he may diſpence with their preſence there, which at their own pleaſure they may not do.

3. This being the quality of their ſervice, you will eaſily judge what care the King ſhould uſe, in his choice of them; It behoveth that they

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be perſons of great truſt and fidelity, and alſo of wiſdom and judgment, who ſhall thus aſſiſt in bearing up the Kings Throne; and of known experience in publick affairs.

4. Yet it may not be unfit to call ſome of young years, to train them up in that trade, and ſo fit them for thoſe weighty affairs, againſt the time of greater maturity; and ſome alſo for the honour of their perſons; But theſe two ſorts not to be tied to ſo ſtrict attendance, as the others from whom the preſent diſpatch of buſineſs is expected.

5. I could wiſh that their number might not be ſo over great, the perſons of the Councellors would be the more venerable. And I know that Queen *Elizabeth*, in whoſe time I had the happineſs to be born, and to live many years, was not ſo much obſerved, for having a numerous, as a wiſe Councel.

6. The duty of a Privy Councellor to a King, I conceive, is, not only to attend the Councel Board, at the times appointed, and there to conſult of what ſhall be propounded; But alſo to ſtudy thoſe things which may advance the Kings honour and ſafety, and the good of the Kingdom, and to communicate the ſame to the King, or to his fellow Councellors, as there ſhall be occaſion. And this, ſir, will concern you more then others, by how much you have a larger ſhare in his affections.

7. And one thing I ſhall be bold to deſire you to recommend to His Majeſty: That when any new thing ſhall be propounded to be taken into conſideration, that no Councellor ſhould ſuddenly deliver any poſitive opinion thereof; it is not ſo eaſie with all men to retract their opinions, although there ſhall be cauſe for it: But only to hear it, and at the moſt but to break it, at firſt, that it may be the better underſtood againſt the next meeting.

8. When any matter of weight hath been debated, and ſeemeth to be ready for a Reſolution; I wiſh it may not be at that ſitting concluded (unleſs the neceſſity of the time preſs it) leſt upon ſecond Cogitations there ſhould be cauſe to alter, which is not for the Gravity and Honour of that Board.

9. I wiſh alſo that the King would be pleaſed ſometimes to be preſent at that Board, it adds a Majeſty to it: And yet not to be too freqently there, that would render it leſs eſteemed, when it is become common; Beſides, it may ſometimes make the Councellors not to be ſo free in their Debates in His Preſence, as they would be in His Abſence.

10. Beſides the giving of Councel, the Councellors are bound by their Duties, *Ex vi termini*, as well as by their Oaths, to keep Councel; therefore are they called, *De Privato Conſilio Regis, & a ſecretioribus Conſiliis Regis.*

11. One

11. One thing I add in the Negative, which is not fit for that Board, the entertaining of private Cauſes, of *Meum & Tuum*, thoſe ſhould be left to the ordinary courſe and Courts of Juſtice.

12. As there is great care to be uſed for the Councellors themſelves to be choſen, ſo there is of the Clerks of the Councel alſo, for the ſecreting of their Conſultations; and methinks it were fit that His Majeſty be ſpeedily moved to give a ſtrict Charge, and to bind it with a ſolemn Order (if it be not already ſo done) that no Copies of the Orders of that Table be delivered out by the Clerks of the Councel, but by the Order of the Board; nor any not being a Councellor, or a Clerk of the Councel, or his Clerk, to have acceſs to the Councel-Books: And to that purpoſe, that the Servants attending the Clerks of the Councel, be bound to Secreſie as well as their Maſters.

13. For the great Offices and Officers of the Kingdom, I ſhall ſay little; for the moſt of them are ſuch, as cannot well be ſevered from the Councellorſhip; and therefore the ſame rule is to be obſerved for both, in the choice of them; In the general, only, I adviſe this, let them be ſet in thoſe places for which they are probably the moſt fit.

14. But in the quality of the perſons, I conceive it will be moſt convenient, to have ſome of every ſort, (as in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* it was) one Biſhop at the leaſt, in reſpect of queſtions touching Religion, or Church Government; one or more skilled in the Laws; ſome for Martial affairs; and ſome for Forreign affairs: By this mixture, one will help another, in all things that ſhall there happen to be moved; But if that ſhould fail, it will be a ſafe way, to conſult with ſome other able perſons well verſed in that point which is the ſubject of their Conſultation, which yet may be done ſo warily, as may not diſcover the main end therein.

IV. In the next place, I ſhall put you in mind of Forreign Negotiations and Embaſſies, to or with Forreign Princes or States, wherein I ſhall be little able to ſerve you.

1. Only, I will tell you what was the courſe in the happy dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*, whom it will be no diſ-reputation to follow: ſhe did vary, according to the nature of the employment, the quality of the perſons ſhe employed; which is a good rule to go by.

2. If it were an Embaſſy of Gratulation or Ceremony (which muſt not be neglected) choice was made of ſome noble perſon, eminent in place, and able in purſe, and he would take it as a mark of favour, and diſcharge it without any great burthen to the Queens Coffers, for his own honours ſake.

3. But

3. But if it were an Embaſſy of weight, concerning affairs of State, choice was made of ſome ſad perſon of known judgment, wiſdom and experience, and not of a young man, nor wayed in State-matters: nor of a meer formal man, whatſoever his title or outſide were.

4. Yet in company of ſuch, ſome young towardly Noblemen or Gentleman were uſually ſent alſo, as aſſiſtance or attendants, according to the quality of the perſons; who might be thereby perpared and fitted for the like imployment, by this means, at another turn.

5. In their company were always ſent ſome grave and ſad men, skilful in the Civil Laws, and ſome in the Languages, and ſome who had been formerly converſant in the Courts of thoſe Princes, and knew their ways; theſe were aſſiſtance in private, but not truſted to manage the affairs in publick; that would detract from the honour of the Principal Embaſſadour.

6. If the Negotiation were about Merchants affaires, then were the perſons imployed for the moſt part Doctors of the Civil Law, aſſiſted with ſome other diſcreet men; and in ſuch the charge was ordinarily defrayed, by the Company or Society of Merchants, whom the Negotiation concerneth.

7. If Legier Embaſſadors or Agents were ſent to remain in or neer the Courts of thoſe Princes or States (as it was ever held fit, to obſerve the motions, and to hold correſpondency with them, upon all occaſions) ſuch were made choice of, as were preſumed to be vigilant, induſtrious, and diſcreet men, and had the Language of the place whither they were ſent; and with theſe were ſent ſuch as were hopeful to be worthy of the like imployment at another time.

8. Their care was, to give true and timely Intelligence of all Occurrences, either to the Queen her ſelf, or the Secretaries of State, unto whom they had their immediate relation.

9. Their charge was alwayes born by the Queen, duly paid out of the Exchequer, in ſuch proportion, as, according to their qualities and places, might give them an honourable ſubſiſtence there: But for the reward of their ſervice, they were to expect it upon their return by ſome ſuch preferment as might be worthy of them, and yet be little burthen to the Queens Coffers or Revenues.

10. At their going forth, they had their general Inſtructions in writing, which might be communicated to the Miniſters of that State, whither they were ſent; and they had alſo private inſtructions, upon particular occaſions; and at their return, they did always render an account of ſome things to the Queen her ſelf, of ſome things to the body of the Councel, and of ſome others to the Secretaries of State; who made

made uſe of them, or communicated them, as there was cauſe.

11. In thoſe days there was a conſtant courſe held, that by the advice of the Secretaries, or ſome principal Councellors, there were always ſent forth, into ſeveral parts beyond the Seas, ſome young men, of whom good hopes were conceived of their towardlineſs, to be trained up, and made fit for ſuch publick imployment, and to learn the Languages. This was at the charge of the Queen, which was not much, for they travelled but as private Gentlemen; and as by their induſtry their deſerts did appear, ſo were they farther imployed or rewarded. This courſe I ſhall recommend unto you, to breed up a nurſery of ſuch publick Plants.

V. For peace and war, and thoſe things which appertain to either; I in my own diſpoſition and profeſſion am wholly for peace, if it pleaſe God to bleſs the Kingdome therewith, as for many years paſt he hath done: and,

1. I preſume I ſhall not need to perſwade you to the advancing of it; nor ſhall you need to perſwade the King your Maſter therein, for that he hath hitherto been another *Solomon*, in this our *Iſrael*, and the Motto which he hath choſen (*Beati Pacifici*) ſhews his own judgement: But he muſt uſe the means to preſerve it; elſe ſuch a jewel may be loſt.

2. God is the God of peace (it is one of his Attributes) therefore by him alone we muſt pray, and hope to continue it: there is the foundation.

3. And the King muſt not neglect the juſt ways for it. Juſtice is the beſt Protector of it at home, and providence for war is the beſt prevention of it from abroad.

4. Wars are either Forreign or Civil; for the Forreign war by the King upon ſome Neighbour Nation, I hope we are ſecure; the King, in his pious and juſt diſpoſition, is not inclinable thereunto, his Empire is long enough: bounded with the Ocean, as if the very Scituation thereof had taught the King and People to ſet up their reſts, and ſay, *Ne plus ultra*.

5. And for a war of invaſion from abroad; only we muſt not be over-ſecure; thats the way to invite it.

6. But if we be always prepared to receive an enemy, if the ambition or malice of any ſhould incite him, we may be very confident we ſhall long live in peace and quietneſs, without any attempts upon us.

7. To make the preparations hereunto the more aſſured: In the firſt place, I will recommend unto you the care of our out-work, the Navy Royal and Shipping of our Kingdome, which are the walls thereof:

and every great Ship is an impregnable fort, and our many ſafe and commodious Ports and Havens, in every of theſe Kingdoms, are as the redoubts to ſecure them.

8. For the body of the Ships, no Nation of the World doth equal *England* for the Oaken Timber wherewith to build them; and we need not borrow of any other, Iron for Spikes, or Nails to faſten them together; but there muſt be a great deal of Providence uſed, that our Ship-Timber be not unneceſſarily waſted.

9. But for Tackling, as Sails and Cordage, we are beholden to our Neighbours for them, and do buy them for our money; that muſt be foreſeen, and laid up in ſtore againſt a time of need, and not ſought for when we are to uſe them: But we are much too blame that we make them not at home, only Pitch and Tar we have not of our own.

10. For the true Art of building of Ships for Burthen and Service both, no Nation in the World exceeds us: Ship-wrights, and all other Artiſans belonging to that Trade, muſt be cheriſhed and encouraged.

11. Powder and Ammunition of all ſorts we can have at home, and in Exchange for other Home-Commodities, we may be plentifully ſupplied from our Neighbours, which muſt not be neglected.

12. With Mariners and Seamen this Kingdom is plentifully furniſhed, the conſtant Trade of Merchandizing will furniſh us at a need; and Navigable Rivers will repair the ſtore, both to the Navy Royal, and to the Merchants, if they be ſet on work, and well payed for their Labour.

13. Sea-Captains, and Commanders, and other Officers, muſt be encouraged, and riſe by Degrees, as their Fidelity and Induſtry deſerve it.

14. Our ſtrict League of Amity and Alliance with our near Neighbours the *Hollanders*, is a mutual ſtrength to both; the ſhipping of both in conjuncture, being ſo powerful, by Gods bleſſing, as no Forrainers will venture upon: This League and Friendſhip muſt inviolably be obſerved.

15. From *Scotland* we have had in former times ſome Alarms and Inroads into the Northern parts of this Kingdom; but that happy Union of both Kingdoms under one Sovereign, our gracious King, I hope, hath taken away all occaſions of breach between the two Nations; let not the cauſe ariſe from *England*, and I hope the *Scots* will not adventure it; or if they do, I hope they will find, that although to our King they were His firſt-born Subjects, yet to *England* belongs the Birthright: But this ſhould not be any cauſe to offer any injury to them, nor to ſuffer any from them.

16. There-

16. There remains then no danger, by the bleſſing of God, but a Civil War, from which, God of his mercy defend us, as that which is moſt deſperate of all others. The Kings Wiſdom and Juſtice muſt prevent it, if it may be; or if it ſhould happen, *quod abſit*, he muſt quench that Wild-fire with all the diligence that poſſibly can be.

17. Competition to the Crown, there is none, nor can be, therefore it muſt be a fire within the bowels, or nothing, the cures whereof are theſe, *Remedium præveniens*, which is the beſt phyſick, either to a natural body, or to a State, by juſt and equal Government to take away the occaſion; and *Remedium puniens*, if the other prevail not: The ſervice and vigilancy of the Deputy Lieutenants in every County, and of the High Sheriff, will contribute much herein to our ſecurity.

18. But if that ſhould not prevail, by a wiſe and timous Inquiſition, the peccant humours and humoriſts muſt be diſcovered, and purged, or cut off; mercy in ſuch a caſe, in a King, is true cruelty.

19. Yet if the Heads of the Tribes can be taken off, and the miſ-led multitude will ſee their error, and return to their obedience, ſuch an extent of mercy is both honourable and profitable.

20. A King, againſt a ſtorm, muſt fore-ſee, to have a convenient ſtock of treaſure; and neither be without money, which is the ſinewes of war, nor to depend upon the courteſie of others, which may fail at a pinch.

21. He muſt alſo have a Magazine of all ſorts, which muſt be had from forreign parts, or provided at home, and to commit them to ſeveral places, under the cuſtody of truſty and faithful Miniſters and Officers, if it be poſſible.

22. He muſt make choice of expert and able Commanders to conduct and manage the War, either againſt a forreign invaſion, or a home rebellion; which muſt not be young and giddy, which dare, not only to fight, but to ſwear, and drink, and curſe; neither fit to govern others, nor able to govern themſelves.

23. Let not ſuch be diſcouraged, if they deſerve well, by miſ-information, or for the ſatisfying the humors or ambition of others, perhaps, out of envy, perhaps, out of treachery, or other ſiniſter ends: A ſteddy hand, in governing of Military affairs, is more requiſite then in times of peace, becauſe an error committed in war, may, perhaps, prove irremediable.

24. If God ſhall bleſs theſe endeavours, and the King return to His own Houſe in Peace, when a Civil-war ſhall be at an end, thoſe who have been found faithful in the Land muſt be regarded, yea, and rewarded alſo; the traiterous, or treacherous, who have miſ-led others, ſeverely

puniſh'd; and the neutrals, and falſe-hearted friends and followers, who have ſtarted aſide like a broken bowe, be noted, *Carbone nigro*; and ſo I ſhall leave them, and this part of the work.

VI. I come to the ſixth part, which is Trade; and that is either at home or abroad. And I begin with that which is at home, which enableth the Subject of the Kingdom to live, and layeth a foundation to a forreign trade by traffique with others, which enableth them to live plentifully and happily.

1. For the Home-trade, I firſt commend unto your conſideration the encouragement of Tillage, which will enable the Kingdom for Corn for the Natives, and to ſpare for Exportation: And I my ſelf have known, more than once, when, in times of Dearth in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, it drained much Coyn of the Kingdom, to furniſh us with Corn from Forrain Parts.

2. Good Husbands will find the means, by good Husbandry, to improve their Lands, by Lime, Chalk, Marl, or Sea-ſand, where it can be had: But it will not be amiſs, that they be put in mind thereof, and encouraged in their Induſtries.

3. Planting of Orchards in a Soyl and Air fit for them, is very profitable, as well as pleaſurable: Sider and Perry are notable Beverage in Sea-Voyages.

4. Gardens are alſo very profitable, if planted with Artichokes, Roots, and ſuch other things as are fit for food; whence they be called Kitchin-Gardens, and that very properly.

5. The planting of Hop-yards, ſowing of Woad, and Rape-ſeed, are found very profitable, for the Planters, in places apt for them, and conſequently profitable for the Kingdom, which for divers years was furniſhed with them from beyond the Seas.

6. The planting and preſerving of Woods, eſpecially of Timber, is not only profitable, but commendable, therewith to furniſh poſterity, both for building and ſhipping.

7. The Kingdom would be much improved, by draining of drowned lands, and gaining that in from the over-flowing of ſalt waters and the ſea, and from freſh waters alſo.

8. And many of thoſe grounds would be exceeding fit for Daries, which, being well houſwived, are exceeding commodious.

9. Much good land might be gained from Forreſts and Chaſes, more remote from the Kings acceſs, and from other commonable places, ſo as always there be a due care taken, that the poor Commoners have no injury by ſuch improvement.

10. The making of navigable Rivers ſhould be profitable; they would.

would be as ſo many in-draughts of wealth, by conveying the commodities with eaſe from place to place.

11. The planting of Hemp and Flax would be an unknown advantage to the Kingdom, many places therein being as apt for it, as any forreign parts.

12. But add hereunto, that it be converted into Linnen-cloth, or Cordage, the commodity thereof will be multiplied.

13. So it is of the Wools and Leather of the Kingdom, if they be converted into manufactures.

14. Our *Engliſh* Dames are much given to the wearing of coſtly Laces; and, if they be brought from *Italy*, or *France*, or *Flanders*, they are in great eſteem: whereas, if the like Lace were made by the *Engliſh*, ſo much thred as would make a yard of Lace being put into that manufacture, would be five times, or perhaps, ten, or twenty times the value.

15. The breeding of cattel is of much profit, eſpecially the breed of Horſes, in many places, not only for travel, but for the great ſaddle; the *Engliſh* horſe, for ſtrength, and courage, and ſwiftneſs together, not being inferiour to the horſes of any other Kingdom.

16. The Minerals of the Kingdom, of Lead, Iron, Copper, and Tynn, eſpecially, are of great value, and ſet many able-bodied ſubjects on work; it were great pity they ſhould not be induſtriouſly followed.

17. But of all Minerals, there is none like to that of Fiſhing, upon the coaſts of theſe Kingdoms, and the ſeas belonging to them: our neighbours, within half a days ſail of us, with a good wind, can ſhew us the uſe and value thereof; and, doubtleſs, there is ſea-room enough for both Nations, without offending one another; and it would exceedingly ſupport the Navie.

18. The Realm is much enriched, of late years, by the trade of Merchandize which the *Engliſh* drive in Forreign parts; and, if it be wiſely managed, it muſt of neceſſity very much increaſe the wealth thereof, care being taken, that the exportation exceed in value the importation, for then the ballance of trade muſt of neceſſity be returned into Coin, or Bullion.

19. This would eaſily be effected, if the Merchants were perſwaded, or compelled, to make their returns in ſolid commodities, and not too much thereof in vanity, tending to exceſs.

20. But eſpecially care muſt be taken, that Monopolies, which are the Cankers of all trading, be not admitted, under ſpecious colour of publick good.

21. To put all theſe into a regulation, if a conſtant Commiſſion, to

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men of honesty and understanding, were granted, and well pursued, to give order for the managing of these things, both at home and abroad to the best advantage; and that this Commission were subordinate to the Councel-board; it is conceived, it would produce notable effects.

VII. The next thing is that of Colonies and forreign plantations, which are very necessary, as out-lets, to a populous Nation, and may be profitable also, if they be managed in a discreet way.

1. First, in the choice of the place, which requireth many circumstances; as, the scituation, neer the Sea, for the commodiousnes of an intercourse with *England*; the temper of the air and climate, as may best agree with the bodies of the *English*, rather inclining to cold, then heat; that it be stored with Woods, Mines, and Fruits; which are naturally in the place; that the soil be such as will probably be fruitful for Corn, and other conveniencies, and for breeding of Cattel; that it hath Rivers, both for passage between place & place, and for fishing also, if it may be; that the Natives be not so many, but that there may be elbow-room enough for them, and for the Adventives also: All which are likely to be found in the *West-Indies*.

2. It would be also such as is not already planted by the Subjects of any Christian Prince, or State, nor over-neerly neighbouring to their Plantation. And it would be more convenient, to be chosen by some of those Gentlemen or Merchants which move first in the work, then to be designed unto them from the King; for it must proceed from the option of the people, else it sounds like an exile; so the Colonies must be raised by the leave of the King, and not by his Command.

3. After the place is made choice of, the first step must be, to make choice of a fit Governor, who, although he have not the name, yet he must have the power of a *Vice-Roy*; and if the person who principally moved in the work, be not fit for that trust, yet he must not be excluded from command; but then his defect in the Governing part must be supplied by such Assistants as shall be joyned with him, or as he shall very well approve of.

4. As at their setting out they must have their Commission, or Letters Pattents from the King, that so they may acknowledge their dependency upon the Crown of *England*, and under His Protection; so they must receive some general Instructions how to dispose of themselves when they come there, which must be in nature of Laws unto them.

5. But the general Law by which they must be guided and governed, must be the common Law of *England*; and to that end it will be fit, that some man, reasonably studied in the Law, and otherwise qualified for such a purpose, be perswaded (if not thereunto inclined of himself, which

which were the beſt) to go thither as a Chancellor amongſt them at firſt; and when the Plantations were more ſetled, then to have Courts of Juſtice there, as in *England*.

6. At the firſt Planting, or as ſoon after as they can, they muſt make themſelves defenſible, both againſt the Natives, and againſt Strangers; and to that purpoſe, they muſt have the aſſiſtance of ſome able Military man, and convenient Arms and Ammunition for their defence.

7. For the Diſcipline of the Church in thoſe parts, it will be neceſſary, that it agree with that which is ſetled in *England*; elſe it will make a ſchiſm, and a rent, in Chriſts coat, which muſt be ſeamleſs; and, to that purpoſe, it will be fit, that by the Kings ſupream power in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, within all his Dominions, they be ſubordinate under ſome Biſhop and Biſhoprick of this Realm.

8. For the better defence againſt a common Enemy, I think it would be beſt, that forreign Plantations ſhould be placed in one Continent, and neer together; whereas, if they be too remote the one from the other, they will be diſ-united, and ſo the weaker.

9. They muſt provide themſelves of houſes, ſuch as, for the preſent, they can, and, at more leiſure, ſuch as may be better; and they firſt muſt plant for corn and cattel, *&c.* for food and neceſſary ſuſtenance; and after, they may enlarge themſelves for thoſe things which may be for profit and pleaſure, and to traffique withal alſo.

10. Woods for ſhipping, in the firſt place, may doubtleſs be there had, and minerals there found, perhaps of the richeſt; howſoever, the mines out of the fruits of the earth, and ſeas, and waters adjoyning, may be found in abundance.

11. In a ſhort time they may build Veſſels and Ships alſo, for traffique with the parts near adjoyning, and with *England* alſo, from whence they may be furniſhed with ſuch things as they may want, and in exchange or barter, ſend from thence other things, with which quickly, either by Nature, or Art, they may abound.

12. But theſe things would, by all means, be prevented; That no known Bankrupt, for ſhelter; nor known murderer, or other wicked perſon, to avoid the Law; nor known Heretick, or Schiſmatick, be ſuffered to go into thoſe Countreys; or, if they do creep in there, not to be harboured, or continued: elſe, the place would receive them naught, and return them into *England*, upon all occaſions, worſe.

13. That no Merchant, under colour of driving a trade thither, or from thence, be ſuffered to work upon their neceſſities.

14. And that to regulate all theſe inconveniencies, which will inſenſibly grow upon them, that the King be pleaſed to erect a ſubordinate

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Councel in *England*, whoſe care and charge ſhall be, to adviſe, and put in execution all things which ſhall be found fit for the good of thoſe new Plantations; who, upon all occaſions ſhall give an account of their proceedings to the King, or to the Council-board, and from them receive ſuch directions as may beſt agree with the Government of that place.

15. That the Kings reaſonable profit be not neglected, partly, upon reſervation of moderate rents and ſervices; and partly, upon Cuſtomes, and, partly upon importation and exportation of Merchandize: which, for a convenient time after the Plantation begin, would be very eaſie, to encourage the work; but, after it is well ſetled, may be raiſed to a conſiderable proportion worthy the acceptation.

VIII. I come to the laſt of thoſe things which I propounded, which is, the Court, and Curiality.

The other did properly concern the King, in his Royal capacity, as *Pater patriæ*; this more properly, as *Pater familias*: And herein,

1. I ſhall, in a word, and but in a word only, put you in mind, That the King in his own perſon, both in reſpect of his Houſhold, or Court, and in reſpect of his whole Kingdom, (for a little Kingdom is but as a great Houſhold; and a great Houſhold, as a little Kingdom) muſt be exemplary, *Regis ad exemplum, &c.* But for this, God be praiſed, our charge is eaſie; for your gracious Maſter, for his Learning and Piety, Juſtice and Bounty, may be, and is, not only a preſident to his own ſubjects, but to forreign Princes alſo; yet he is ſtill but a man, and ſeaſonable *Memento*'s may be uſeful; and, being diſcreetly uſed, cannot but take well with him.

2. But your greateſt care muſt be, that the great men of his Court (for you muſt give me leave to be plain with you, for ſo is your injunction laid upon me) your ſelf in the firſt place, who is firſt in the eye of all men, give no juſt cauſe of ſcandal, either by light, or vain, or by oppreſſive carriage.

3. The great Officers of the Kings Houſhold had need be both diſcreet and provident perſons, both for his Honour, and for his Thrift; they muſt look both ways, elſe they are but half-ſighted: Yet in the choice of them, there is more latitude left to affection, then in the choice of Councellors, and of the great Officers of State, before touched, which muſt always be made choice of meerly out of judgment, for in them the publick hath a great intereſt.

4. For the other miniſterial Officers in Court (as, for diſtinction ſake, they may be termed) there muſt be alſo an eye unto them, and upon them; they have uſually riſen in the Houſhold by degrees, and it

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is a noble way, to encourage faithful ſervice: But the King muſt not bind himſelf to a neceſſity herein, for then it will be held *ex debito*; neither muſt he alter it, without an apparent cauſe for it: but to diſplace any who are in, upon diſpleaſure, which for the moſt part happeneth upon information of ſome great man, is, by all means, to be avoided, unleſs there be a manifeſt cauſe for it.

5. In theſe things you may ſometimes interpoſe, to do juſt and good offices; but for the general, I ſhould rather adviſe, meddle little, but leave the ordering of thoſe Houſhold affairs to the white-ſtaffs, which are thoſe honourable Perſons, to whom it properly belongeth, to be anſwerable to the King for it, and to thoſe other Officers of the Green-cloth, who are ſubordinate to them, as a kind of Councel, and a Court of Juſtice alſo.

6. Yet for the Green-cloth Law, (take it in the largeſt ſence) I have no opinion of it, further then it is regulated by the juſt Rules of the Common-Laws of *England*.

7. Towards the ſupport of His Majeſties own Table, and of the Princes, and of his neceſſary Officers, His Majeſty hath a good help by purveyance, which juſtly is due unto him; and, if juſtly uſed, is no great burthen to the ſubject; but by the Purveyors, and other under-Officers, is many times abuſed. In many parts of the Kingdom, I think, it is already reduced to a certainty in money; and if it be indifferently and diſcreetly manag'd, it would be no hard matter to ſettle it ſo throughout the whole Kingdom; yet to be renewed from time to time; for that will be the beſt, and ſafeſt, both for the King, and People.

8. The King muſt be put in mind, to preſerve the Revenues of his Crown, both certain, and caſual, without diminution, and to lay up treaſure in ſtore againſt a time of extremity; empty coffers give an ill ſound, and make the people many times forget their Duty, thinking that the King muſt be beholden to them for his ſupplies.

9. I ſhall by no means think it fit, that he reward any of his ſervants with the benefit of forfeitures, either by Fines in the Court of Star-Chamber, or High Commiſſion Court, or other Courts of Juſtice, or that they ſhould be farmed out, or beſtowed upon any, ſo much as by promiſe, before Judgment given; it would neither be profitable, nor honourable.

10. Beſides matters of ſerious conſideration, in the Court of Princes, there muſt be times for paſtimes and diſports: When there is a Queen, and Ladies of Honour attending her, there muſt ſometimes be Maſques, and Revels, and Enterludes; and when there is no Queen, or Princeſs, as now, yet at Feſtivals, and for entertainment of Strangers, or upon

ſuch occaſions, they may be fit alſo. Yet care would be taken, that, in ſuch caſes, they be ſet off more with wit and activity, then with coſtly and waſteful expences.

11. But for the King and Prince, and the Lords and Chivalry of the Court, I rather commend, in their turns and ſeaſons, the riding of the great Horſe, the Tilts, the Barriers, Tennis, and Hunting, which are more for the health and ſtrength of thoſe who exerciſe them, then in an effeminate way to pleaſe themſelves and others.

And now the Prince groweth up faſt to be a man, and is of a ſweet and excellent diſpoſition; it would be an irreparable ſtain and diſhonour upon you, having that acceſs unto him, if you ſhould miſlead him, or ſuffer him to be miſled by any looſe or flattering Paraſites: The whole Kingdom hath a deep intereſt in his virtuous education; and if you, keeping that diſtance which is fit, do humbly interpoſe your ſelf, in ſuch a caſe, he will one day give you thanks for it.

12. Yet Dice and Cards may ſometimes be uſed for recreation, when field-ſports cannot be had; but not to uſe it as a mean to ſpend the time, much leſs to miſpend the thrift of the Gameſters.

S I R, I ſhall trouble you no longer; I have run over theſe things as I firſt propounded them; pleaſe you to make uſe of them, or any of them, as you ſhall ſee occaſion; or to lay them by, as you think beſt, and to add to them, as you daily may, out of your experience.

I muſt be bold, again, to put you in mind of your preſent condition; you are in the quality of a Sentinal; if you ſleep, or neglect your charge, you are an undone man, and you may fall much faſter then you have riſen.

I have but one thing more to mind you of, which nearly concerns your ſelf; you ſerve a great and gracious Maſter, and there is a moſt hopeful young Prince, whom you muſt not deſert; it behoves you to carry your ſelf wiſely and evenly between them both: adore not ſo the riſing Son, that you forget the Father, who raiſed you to this height; nor be you ſo obſequious to the Father, that you give juſt cauſe to the Son, to ſuſpect that you neglect him: But carry your ſelf with that judgment, as, if it be poſſible, may pleaſe and content them both, which, truly, I believe, will be no hard matter for you to do; ſo may you live long beloved of both, which is the hearty prayer of,

Your moſt obliged,

and devoted Servant.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon, *to Sir* George Villiers, *of Advice concerning* Ireland, *from* Gorambury *to* Windſor.

SIR,

BEcauſe I am uncertain whether His Majeſty will put to a point ſome Reſolutions touching *Ireland*, now at *Windſor*; I thought it my Duty to attend His Majeſty by my Letter, and thereby to ſupply my Abſence, for the renewing of ſome former Commiſſions for *Ireland*, and the framing of a new Commiſſion for the Wards, and the Alienations, which appertain properly to me, as His Majeſties Attorney, and have been accordingly referred by the Lords. I will undertake that they are prepared with a greater care, and better application to His Majeſties Service in that Kingdom, than heretofore they have been, and therefore of that I ſay no more. And for the Inſtructions of the new Deputy, they have been ſet down by the two Secretaries, and read to the Board, and being things of an ordinary nature, I do not ſee but they may paſs. But there have been three Propoſitions and Councels, which have been ſtirred, which ſeem to me of very great importance, wherein I think my ſelf bound to deliver to His Majeſty my Advice and Opinion, if they ſhould now come in queſtion. The firſt is, touching the Recuſant Magiſtrates of the Towns of *Ireland*, and the Commonalties themſelves, and their Electors, what ſhall be done; which Conſultation ariſeth from the late Advertiſements from the two Lord Juſtices, upon the inſtance of the two Towns *Limrick* and *Kilkenny*; in which Advertiſements, they repreſent the Danger only, without giving any light for the Remedy; rather warily for themſelves, than agreeable to their duties and places. In this point, I humbly pray His Majeſty to remember, that the refuſal is not of the Oath of Allegiance (which is not enacted in *Ireland*) but of the Oath of Supremacy, which cutteth deeper into matter of Conſcience.

Alſo that His Majeſty, will out of the depth of His Excellent Wiſdom and providence, think, and as it were calculate with himſelf, whether time will make more for the Cauſe of Religion in *Ireland*, and be ſtill more and more propitious; or whether differing remedies will not make the Caſe more difficult. For if time give His Majeſty the advantage, what needeth precipitation of extream remedies; but if the time will make the Caſe more deſperate, then His Majeſty cannot begin too ſoon. Now, in my opinion, time will open and facilitate things for Re-

formation of Religion there, and not ſhut up or lock out the ſame. For firſt, the plantations going on, and being principally of Proteſtants, cannot but mate the other party in time. Alſo His Majeſties care in placing good Biſhops, and good Divines, in amplifying the Colledge there, and looking to the education of Wards, and ſuch like; as they are the moſt natural means, ſo are they like to be the moſt effectual and happy, for the weeding out of Popery, without uſing the temporal ſword, ſo that I think I may truly conclude, that the ripeneſs of time is not yet come.

Therefore my advice is, in all humbleneſs, that this hazardous courſe of proceeding to tender the Oath to the Magiſtrates of Towns, proceed not, but die by degrees. And yet to preſerve the authority and reputation of the former Councel, I would have ſomewhat done, which is, that there be a proceeding to ſeiſure of liberties, but not by any act of power, but by *quo Warranto*, or *Scire Facias*, which is a legal courſe, and will be the work of three or four Terms; by which time the matter will be ſomewhat cool.

But I would not (in no caſe) that the proceeding ſhould be with both the Towns which ſtand now in contempt, but with one of them only, chooſing that which ſhall be moſt fit. For if His Majeſty proceed with both, then all the Towns that are in the like caſe, will think it a common Cauſe, and that it is but their caſe to day, and their own to morrow. But if His Majeſty proceed but with one, the apprehenſion and terror will not be ſo ſtrong; for, they may think, it may be their caſe to be ſpared, as well as proſecuted. And this is the beſt Advice that I can give to His Majeſty in this ſtrait; and of this opinion ſeemed my Lord Chancellor to be.

The ſecond Propoſition is this; It may be, His Majeſty will be moved to reduce the number of His Councel of *Ireland* (which is now almoſt fifty) to twenty, or the like number, in reſpect that the greatneſs of the number doth both imbaſe the Authority of the Councel, and divulge the buſineſs. Nevertheleſs, I hold this Propoſition to be rather ſpecious and ſolemn, than needful at this time; for certainly it will fill the State full of diſcontentment, which, in a growing and unſetled State, ought not to be. This I could wiſh, that His Majeſty would appoint a ſelect number of Councellors there, which might deal in the improvement of His Revenue (being a thing not to paſs through too many hands) and the ſaid ſelected number ſhould have dayes of ſitting by themſelves, at which the reſt of the Councel ſhould not be preſent; which being once ſetled, then other principal buſineſs of State may be handled at theſe ſittings; and ſo the reſt begin to be diſuſed, and yet retain their countenance without murmur or diſgrace.

The

The third Propoſition, as it is moved, ſeemeth to be pretty, if it can keep promiſe; for it is this, That a means may be found to re-enforce His Majeſties Army by five hundred, or a thouſand men, and that without any Penny increaſe of charge. And the means ſhould be, That there ſhould be a Commandment of a local removing, and transferring ſome Companies from one Province to another, whereupon it is ſuppoſed, that many that are planted in Houſe and Lands, will rather loſe their entertainment, then remove; and thereby new men may have their Pay, yet the old be mingled in the Countrey for the ſtrength thereof. In this Propoſition two things may be feared; the one, diſcontent of thoſe that ſhall be put off; the other, that the Companies ſhall be ſtuffed with Novices (*Tirones*) inſtead of *Veterani*. I wiſh therefore, that this Propoſition be well debated, before it be admitted. Thus having performed that which Duty binds me to, I commend you to Gods beſt preſervation.

Your moſt devoted,

July 5. 1616. *and bounden Servant.*

Sir Francis Bacon, *the Kings Attorney General, to the Maſter of the Horſe, upon the ſending of his Bill for Viſcount, &c.*

SIR,

I Send you the Bill for His Majeſties Signature, reformed according to His Majeſties amendments, both in the two places (which, I aſſure you, were altered with great judgment) and in the third place, which His Majeſty termed a queſtion only. But he is an idle body, that thinketh His Majeſty asketh an idle queſtion; and therefore His Majeſties queſtions are to be anſwered, by taking away the cauſe of the queſtion, and not by replying.

For the name, His Majeſties Will is a Law in thoſe things; and to ſpeak the truth, it is a well-ſounding, and noble name, both here and abroad; and being your proper name, I will take it for a good ſign, that you ſhall give honour to your dignity, and not your dignity to you. Therefore I have made it Viſcount *Villiers*; and for your Barony, I will keep it for an Earldom. For though the other had been more orderly, yet that is as uſual; and both alike good in Law.

For *Ropers* place, I would have it by all means diſpatched, and there-

fore

fore I marvaile it lingreth. It were no good manners, to take the buſineſs out of my Lord Treaſurers hands; and therefore I purpoſe to write to his Lordſhip, if I hear not from him firſt, by Mr. *Deckome*; but if I hear of any delay, you will give me leave (eſpecially ſince the King named me) to deal with Sir *Joſeph Roper* my ſelf; for neither I, nor my Lord Treaſurer, can deſerve any great thanks in this buſineſs of yours, conſidering the King hath ſpoken to Sir *Jo. Roper*, and he hath promiſed; and beſides, the thing it ſelf is ſo reaſonable, as it ought to be as ſoon done, as ſaid. I am now gotten into the Countrey to my houſe, where I have ſome little liberty, to think of that I would think of, and not of that which other men hourly break their head withal, as it was at *London*. Upon this you may conclude, that moſt of my thoughts are to His Majeſty, and then you cannot be far off. God ever keep you, and proſper you. I reſt always,

Your true, and

The 5. of Auguſt, one of the happieſt dayes.

moſt dutiful Servant.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to Sir* George Villiers, *upon the ſending his Pattent for Viſcount* Villiers *to be Signed.*

SIR,

I Have ſent you now your Patent, of Creation of Lord *Bletchly* of *Bletchly*, and of Viſcount *Villiers*. *Beltchly* is your own, and I liked the ſound of the name better then *Whaddon*; but the name will be hid, for you will be called Viſcount *Villiers*. I have put them in a Patent; after the manner of the Patent for Earls, where Baronies are joyned; but the chief reaſon was, becauſe I would avoid double prefaces, which had not been fit; nevertheleſs the Ceremony of Robing, and otherwiſe, muſt be double.

And now, becauſe I am in the Countrey, I will ſend you ſome of my Countrey fruits, which with me are good Meditations, which, when I am in the City, are choked with buſineſs.

After that the King ſhall have watered your new Dignities, with the bounty

bounty of the Lands which he intends you, and that ſome other things concerning your Means, which are now likewiſe in intention, ſhall be ſetled upon you; I do not ſee, but you may think your private Fortunes eſtabliſhed; and therefore it is now time, that you ſhould refer your Actions to the good of your Sovereign, and your Countrey. It is the life of an Oxe or Beaſt, alwayes to eat, and never exerciſe; but men are born (and ſpecially Chriſtian men) not to cramb in their Fortunes, but to exerciſe their Vertues; and yet the other hath been the unworthy, and (thanks be to God) ſometimes the unlucky humour of great Perſons in our times: Neither will your future Fortune be the further off, for, aſſure your ſelf, that Fortune is of a Womans nature, and will ſooner follow by ſleighting, than by too much wooing. And in this dedication of your ſelf to the Publick, I recommend unto you principally, that which, I think, was never done ſince I was born; and which, becauſe it is not done, hath bred almoſt a Wilderneſs and Solitude in the Kings Service; which is, That you countenance and encourage, and advance able men, in all kinds, degrees and profeſſions. For in the time of the *Cecils*, the Father and the Son, able men were, by deſign, and of purpoſe, ſuppreſſed; and though of late, choice goeth better, both in Church and Commonwealth, yet money, and turn-ſerving, and cunning canvaſſes, and importunity, prevaileth too much. And, in places of moment, rather make able and honeſt men yours, than advance thoſe that are otherwiſe, becauſe they are yours. As for cunning and corrupt men, you muſt (I know) ſometimes uſe them, but keep them at a diſtance; and let it appear rather, that you make uſe of them, than that they lead you. Above all, depend wholly (next unto God) upon the King, and be ruled (as hitherto you have been) by His Inſtructions, for that is beſt for your ſelf. For the Kings care and thoughts for you, are according to the thoughts of a great King; whereas your thoughts concerning your ſelf, are, and ought to be, according to the thoughts of a modeſt man. But let me not weary you, the ſum is, That you think Goodneſs the beſt part of Greatneſs; and that you remember whence your riſing comes, and make return accordingly. God keep you.

Auguſt 12.
1616.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon, *to the King, about a Certificate of my Lord* Coke's.

It may pleaſe Your Excellent Majeſty,

I Send your Majeſty, incloſed, my Lord *Coke's* anſwers; I will not call them reſcripts, much leſs Oracles. They are of his own hand, and offered to me (as they are) in writing, not required by me to have them ſet down in writing, though I am glad of it, for my own diſcharge. I thought it my duty, as ſoon as I received them, inſtantly to ſend them to Your Majeſty, and forbear, for the preſent, to ſpeak further of them. I, for my part, (though this *Muſcovia*-weather be a little too hard for my conſtitution) was ready to have waited upon Your Majeſty this day, all reſpects ſet aſide; but my Lord Treaſurer, in reſpect of the ſeaſon, and much other buſineſs, was willing to ſave me. I will onely conclude, touching theſe Papers, with a Text divided; I cannot ſay, *Oportuit hæc fieri*, bnt I may ſay, *Finis autem nondum*. God preſerve Your Majeſty.

Your Majeſties moſt humble,

Feb. 14. *at* 12. *a Clock.* *and devoted Subject and Servant.*

I humbly pray Your Majeſty, to keep the Papers ſafe.

A Letter to the King, touching the Lord Chancellors place.

It may pleaſe Your moſt Excellent Majeſty.

YOur worthy Chancellour, I fear, goeth his laſt day. God hath hitherto uſed to weed out ſuch Servants as grew not fit for Your Majeſty; but now he hath gathered to himſelf a true ſage, or *ſalvia*, out of Your Garden; But Your Majeſties ſervice muſt not be mortal.

Upon this heavy Accident, I pray Your Majeſty in all humbleneſs and ſincerity, to give me leave to uſe a few words. I muſt never forget, when I moved Your Majeſty for the Attorneys place, it was your own ſole act; more then that, *Somerſet*, when he knew Your Majeſty had reſolved it, thruſt himſelf into the buſineſs for a Fee. And therefore I have no reaſon to pray to Saints.

I ſhall now again make oblation to your Majeſty, firſt of my heart, then of my ſervice, thirdly, of my place of Attorney (which I think is honeſtly worth 1600 l. pound *per annum*) and fourthly, of my place of the Star-chamber, which is worth 1600 l. *per annum*, and with the favuor and countenance of a Chancellor, much more.

I hope I may be acquitted of preſumption, if I think of it, both becauſe my Father had the place, which is ſome civil inducement to my deſire: And I pray God your Majeſty may have twenty no worſe years in your Greatneſs, then Queen *Elizabeth* had in her Model, (after my Fathers placing) and chiefly, becauſe, if the Chancellors place went to the Law, it was ever conferred upon ſome of the Learned Councel, and never upon a Judge. For *Audley* was raiſed from *K.* Serjeant, my Father from Attorney of the Wards, *Bromley* from Sollicitor, *Puckering* from Serjeant, *Egerton* from Maſter of the Rolls, having newly left the Attorneys place. Now I beſeech Your Majeſty, let me put you the preſent caſe, truly. If you take my Lord *Coke*, this will follow; firſt, Your Majeſty ſhall put an over-ruling nature into an over-ruling place, which may breed an extream: Next, You ſhall blunt his induſtries in matter of financies, which ſeemeth to aime at another place. And laſtly, popular men are no ſure Mounters for Your Majeſties Saddle. If you take my Lord *Hubbart*, you ſhall have a Judge at the upper end of Your Councel-board, and another at the lower end: Whereby Your Majeſty will find your Prerogative pent. For though there ſhould be emulation between them, yet as Legiſts they will agree, in magnifying that wherein they are beſt; He is no States-man, but an *Oeconomiſt*, wholly for himſelf. So as Your Majeſty (more then an outward form) will find little help in him, for the buſineſs. If you take my Lord of *Canterbury*, I will ſay no more, but the Chancellours place requires a whole man. And to have both Juriſdictions, Spiritual and Temporal, in that height, is fit but for a King.

For my ſelf, I can only preſent Your Majeſty with *Gloria in obſequio*: yet I dare promiſe, that if I ſit in that place, Your buſineſs ſhall not make ſuch ſhort turns upon You, as it doth; but when a direction is once given, it ſhall be purſued and performed; and Your Majeſty ſhall only be troubled with the true care of a King, which is, to think what You would have done in chief, and not how, for the paſſages.

I do preſume alſo, in reſpect of my Fathers memory, and that I have been alwayes gracious in the Lower Houſe, I have intereſt in the Gentlemen of *England*, and ſhall be able to do ſome good effect, in rectifying that Body of Parliament-men, which is *Cardo rerum*. For let me

t ell Your Majeſty, that that part of the Chancellors place which is to Judge in equity, between party and party, that ſame *Regnum judiciale* (which ſince my Fathers time is but too much enlarged) concerneth Your Majeſty leaſt, more then the acquitting your Conſcience for Juſtice. But it is the other part of a Moderator, amongſt your Councel, of an Overſeer over your Judges, of a planter of fit Juſtices, and Governors in the Country, that importeth your affairs and theſe times moſt.

I will add alſo, that I hope by my care, the inventive part of your Councel will be ſtrengthned, who now commonly, do exerciſe rather their Judgements, then their inventions: And the inventive part cometh from projectors, and private men, which cannot be ſo well; In which kinde, my Lord of *Salisbury* had a good method, if his ends had been upright.

To conclude, if I were the man I would be, I ſhould hope, that as Your Majeſty hath of late wonne hearts by depreſſing; you ſhould in this leeſe no hearts by advancing. For I ſee your people can better skill of *Concretum*, then *Abſtractum*, and that the waves of their affections flow rather after perſons, then things. So that acts of this nature (if this were one) do more good then twenty Bills of Grace.

If God call my Lord, the Warrants and Commiſſions which are requiſite for the taking the Seal, and for the working with it, and for the reviving of Warrants under his hand, which dye with him, and the like, ſhall be in readineſs. And in this time preſſeth more, becauſe it is the end of a Term, and almoſt the beginning of the Circuits: So that the Seal cannot ſtand ſtill. But this may be done, as heretofore, by Commiſſion, till Your Majeſty hath reſolved of an Officer. God ever preſerve Your Majeſty.

Your Majeſties moſt humble Subject,

Febr. 12. 1615.

and bounden Servant.

Sir

A Letter to the King, of my Lord Chancellors *amendment, and the difference begun between the* Chancery *and* Kings Bench.

It may pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Do find (God be thanked) a ſenſible amendment in my Lord Chancellor, I was with him yeſterday in private Conference about half an hour, and this day again, at ſuch time as he did ſeal, which he endured well almoſt the ſpace of an hour, though the vapour of the wax be offenſive to him. He is free from a Feaver, perfect in his powers of memory and ſpeech, and not hollow in his voice nor looks. He hath no panting, or labouring reſpiration, neither are his Coughs dry or weak. But whoſoever thinketh his diſeaſe to be but Melancholy, maketh no true judgment of it; for it is plainly a formed and deep Cough, with a pectoral ſurcharge, ſo that at times, he doth almoſt *animam agere.* I forbear to advertiſe Your Majeſty of the care I took to have Commiſſioners in readineſs, becauſe Maſter Secretary *Lake* hath let me underſtand he ſignified as much to Your Majeſty. But I hope there ſhall be no uſe of them for this time.

And as I am glad to advertiſe Your Majeſty of the amendment of Your Chancellors perſon, ſo I am ſorry to accompany it with an advertiſement of the ſickneſs of Your Chancery Court; though (by the Grace of God) that cure will be much eaſier than the other. It is true, I did lately write to Your Majeſty, that for the matter of *Habeas corpora* (which was the third matter in Law you had given me in charge) I did think the communion of ſervice between my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Chief Juſtice, in the great buſineſs of examination, would ſo join them, as they would not ſquare at this time. But pardon me (I humbly pray Your Majeſty) if I have too reaſonable thoughts. And yet that which happened the laſt day of the *Term* concerning certain Indictments, in the nature of Præmunire, preferred into the Kings Bench, but not found, is not ſo much as is noiſed abroad (though I muſt ſay, it was *Omni tempore nimium, & hoc tempore alienum*) And therefore I beſeech Your Majeſty, not to give any believing ear to Reports, but to receive the Truth from me that am Your Attorney General, and ought to ſtand indifferent for Juriſdictions of all Courts; which account I cannot give Your Majeſty now, becauſe I was then abſent, and ſome are now abſent, which are properly and authentically to inform me,

touching that which paſſed. Neither let this any way disjoint Your other buſineſs; for there is a time for all things, and this very accident may be turned to good; not that I am of opinion, that that ſame cunning Maxim of *Separa & Impera*, which ſometimes holdeth in perſons, can well take place in Juriſdictions; but becauſe ſome good occaſion by this exceſs may be taken, to ſettle that which would have been more dangerous, if it had gone on by little and little. God preſerve Your Majeſty.

Your Majeſties moſt humble Subject,

Febr. 15. 1615. *and moſt bounden Servant.*

Sir Francis Bacon, *the Kings Attorney, to the King, giving ſome Account touching the* Commendams.

It may pleaſe Your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Am not ſwift to deliver any thing to your Majeſty, before it be well weighed. But now that I have informed my ſelf of as much as is neceſſary, touching this proceeding of the Judges, to the Argument of the *Commendams* (notwithſtanding your Majeſties pleaſure ſignified by me upon your Majeſties Commandment, in preſence of my Lord Chancellor and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to the contrary) I do think it fit to advertiſe your Majeſty what hath paſſed; the rather, becauſe I ſuppoſe the Judges, ſince they performed not your Commandment, have at leaſt given Your Majeſty their reaſons of their failing therein; I begin to anſwer for the doing of Your Majeſties Commandment, and they for the not doing.

I did conceive, that in a cauſe that concern'd Your Majeſty and your Royal power, the Judges having heard your Attorney General argue the *Saturday* before, would of themſelves have taken further time to be adviſed.

And (if I fail not in memory) my Lord *Coke* received from Your Majeſties ſelf, as I take it, a precedent commandment, in *Hillary* term; That both in the *Rege inconſulto*, and in the *Commendams*, your Attorney ſhould be heard to ſpeak, and then ſtay to be made of further proceeding, till my Lord had ſpoken with your Majeſty.

Nevertheleſs, hearing that the day appointed for the Judges Argument held, contrary to my expectation, I ſent on *Thurſday* in the evening, (having

(having received Your Majeſties Commandment but the day before, in the afternoon) a Letter to my Lord *Coke*, whereby I let him know, that upon ſome Report of my Lord of *Wincheſter* (who by Your Commandment was preſent at my Argument) of that which paſſed, it was Your Majeſties expreſs Pleaſure, that no further proceeding ſhould be, until Your Majeſty had conſer'd with Your Judges; which Your Majeſty thought to have done at Your being now laſt in Town; but by reaſon of Your many and weighty occaſions, Your Princely times would not ſerve: and that it was Your Pleaſure he ſhould ſignifie ſo much to the reſt of the Judges, whereof his Lordſhip might not fail. His anſwer, by word, to my Man, was, That it were good the reſt of the Judges underſtood ſo much from my ſelf. Whereupon, I (that cannot skill in ſcruples, in matter of Service) did write on *Friday*, three ſeveral Letters of like Content, to the Judges of the Common Pleas, and the Barons of the Exchequer, and the other three Judges of the Kings Bench, mentioning in that laſt, my particular Letter to my Lord Chief Juſtice.

This was all I did, and thought all had been ſure, inſomuch as the ſame day being appointed in Chancery, for Your Majeſties great Cauſe (followed by my Lord *Hunſdon*) I writ two other Letters to both the Chief Juſtices, to put them in mind of aſſiſting my Lord Chancellor at the hearing. And when my Lord Chancellor himſelf took ſome notice upon that occaſion, openly in the Chancery, that the *Commendams* could not hold, preſently after I heard the Judges were gone about the *Commendams*; which I thought, at firſt, had been only to adjourn the Court: But I heard after, that they proceeded to Argument.

In this their doing, I conceive they muſt either except to the nature of the Commandment, or to the credence thereof; both which, I aſſure my ſelf, Your Majeſty will maintain.

For if they ſhould ſtand upon the general ground, *Nulli negabimus, nulli differemus Juſtitiam*, it receiveth two Anſwers. The one, that reaſonable and mature advice may not be confounded with delay; and that they can well alledge, when it pleaſeth them. The other, that there is a great difference between a Caſe meerly between Subject and Subject, and where the Kings intereſt is in queſtion directly, or by conſequence. As for the Attorneys Place and Commiſſion, it is as proper for him to ſignifie the Kings Pleaſure to the Judges, as for the Secretary to ſignifie the ſame to the Privy Councel, and ſo hath it ever been.

Theſe things were a little ſtrange, if there came not ſo many of them together, as the one maketh the other ſeem leſs ſtrange: But Your Majeſty hath fair occaſions to remedy all with ſmall aid. I ſay no more for the preſent.

I was a little plain with my Lord *Coke* in these matters; and when his answer was, That he knew all these things, I said, he could never profit too much, in knowing himself and his duty.

Sir Francis Bacon *his Advertisement, touching an Holy War, to the Right Reverend Father in God,* Lancelot Andrews, *Lord Bishop of* Winchester, *and Councellor of Estate to His Majesty.*

My Lord,

AMongst consolations, it is not the least, to represent a mans self like examples of calamity in others. For Example gives a quicker impression then Arguments; and besides, they certifie us of that which the Scripture also tendereth for satisfaction, *That no new thing is happened unto us.* This they do the better, by how much the Examples are liker, in circumstances, to our own case, and more especially, if they fall upon persons that are greater and worthier then our selves. For as it savoureth of vanity, to match our selves highly, in our own conceit; so, on the other side, it is a good sound conclusion, That if our betters have sustained the like events, we have the less cause to be grieved.

In this kind of consolation, I have not been wanting to my self, though, as a Christian, I have tasted (through Gods great goodness) of higher remedies. Having therefore, through the variety of my reading, set before me many examples, both of ancient, and latter times, my thoughts, I confess, have chiefly stayed upon three particulars, as the most eminent, and the most resembling; all three, persons, that had held chief place of Authority in their Countreys; all three ruined, not by war, or by any other disaster, but by Justice and Sentence, as Delinquents, and Criminals; all three famous Writers: Insomuch, as the remembrance of their calamity is, now, as to posterity, but as a little Picture of Night-work, remaining amongst the fair and excellent Tables of their Acts and Works: and all three, (if that were any thing to the matter) fit examples to quench any mans ambition of rising again, for that they were, every one of them, restored with great glory, but to their further ruine and destruction, ending in a violent death. The men were, *Demosthenes, Cicero,* and *Seneca,* persons that I durst not claim affinity with, except the similitude of our fortunes had contracted it. When I had cast mine eyes upon these examples, I was carried on further to observe, how they did bear their fortunes, and, principally, how they did imploy their

their times, being baniſhed, and diſabled for publick buſineſs; to the end, that I might learn by them, and that they might be as well my Counſellors, as my Comforters. Whereupon I happened to note, how diverſly their fortunes wrought upon them, eſpecially, in that point at which I did moſt aim, which was, the employing of their times and pens. In *Cicero*, I ſaw, that during his baniſhment (which was almoſt two years) he was ſo ſoftned and dejected, as he wrote nothing but a few womaniſh Epiſtles: And yet, in mine opinion, he had leaſt reaſon of the three to be diſcouraged; for that although it was judged, and judged by the higheſt kind of judgement, in form of a Statute, or Law, That he ſhould be baniſhed, and his whole eſtate confiſcated and ſeized, and his houſes pulled down, and that it ſhould be highly penal for any man to propound his repeal; yet his caſe, even then, had no great blot of ignominy, but it was thought but a tempeſt of Popularity which overthrew him. *Demoſthenes*, contrary-wiſe, though his caſe was foul, being condemned for bribery, and not ſimple bribery, but bribery in the nature of Treaſon and diſloyalty; yet, nevertheleſs, he took ſo little knowledge of his fortune, as, during his baniſhment, he did much buſie himſelf, and intermeddle with matters of State, and took upon him to counſel the State, as if he had been ſtill at the Helm, by Letters, as appears by ſome Epiſtles of his which are extant. *Seneca*, indeed, who was condemned for many corruptions, and crimes, and baniſhed into a ſolitary Iſland, kept a mean: for, though his Pen did not freeze, ye he abſtained from intruding into matters of buſineſs; but ſpent his time in writing Books of excellent Arguments, and uſe for all Ages, though he might have made better choice, ſometimes, of his Dedications.

Theſe examples confirmed me much in a reſolution (whereunto I was otherwiſe inclined) to ſpend my time wholy in writing, and to put forth that poor Talent, or half-talent, or what it is, that God hath given me, not, as heretofore, to particular exchanges, but to ranks or Mounts of Perpetuity, which will not break.

Therefore, having not long ſince, ſet forth a part of my *Inſtauration*, which is the work that, in mine own judgement (*Si nunquam fallit Imago*) I may moſt eſteem, I think to proceed in ſome few parts thereof. And although I have received, from many parts beyond the Seas, teſtimonies touching that work, ſuch, as beyond which I could not expect at the firſt, in ſo abſtruſe an Argument; yet, nevertheleſs, I have juſt cauſe to doubt, that it flies too much over mens heads: I have a purpoſe, therefore, (though I break the order of time) to draw it down to the ſenſe, by ſome patterns of a Natural Story, and Inquiſition. And again, for that my Book of *Advancement of Learning* may be ſome preparative,

or

or Key, for the better opening of the *Instauration*, because it exhibits a mixture of new conceipts, and old, whereas the *Instauration* gives the new unmixed, (otherwise then with some little aspersion of the old, for tastes sake,) I have thought to procure a Translation of that Book into the general Language, not without great and ample additions, and enrichment thereof, especially in the second Book, which handleth the partition of Sciences; in such sort, as, I hold it, may serve in lieu of the first part of the *Instauration*, and acquit my promise in that part. Again, because I cannot altogether desert the civil person that I have borne, (which, if I should forget, enough would remember) I have also entred into a work touching Laws, propounding a Character of Justice in the middle Term, between the speculative and reverend discourses of Philosophers, and the writings of Lawyers, which are tied, and obnoxious to their particular Laws. And although it be true, that I had a purpose to make a particular Digest, or re-compilement, of the Laws of mine own Nation; yet because it is a Work of assistance, and that that I cannot master, by my own forces and pen, I have laid it aside. Now having in the work of my *Instauration*, had in contemplatiō the general good of men, in their very being, and dowries of nature; & in my work of *Laws*, the general good of men in Society, and the dowries of Government, I thought in duty I owed somewhat unto mine own Countrey, which I ever loved; insomuch, as although my place hath been far above my deserts, yet my thoughts and cares concerning the good thereof, were beyond, and over, and above my place. So now, being as I am, no more able to do my Countrey service, it remained unto me to do it honour, which I have endeavoured to do, in my Work of the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh. As for my Essayes, and some other particulars of that Nature, I count them but as the Recreations of my other Studies; and in that sort I purpose to continue them, though I am not ignorant, that those kind of Writings would, with less pains and embracement, perhaps, yield more lustre and reputation to my Name, than those other which I have in hand. But I account the use that a man should seek, of the publishing of his own Writings before his death, to be but an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a man, and not to go along with him.

But revolving with my self my Writings, as well those I have published, as those which I had in hand, methought they went all into the City, and none into the Temple; where, because I have found so great consolation, I desire likewise to make some poor oblation. Therefore I have chosen an Argument, mixt of Religious and Civil Considerations, and likewise mixt between Contemplative and Active: For, who can

tell,

tell, whether there may not be an *Exoriere aliquis?* Great matters, (especially if they be Religious) have (many times) small beginnings, and the Plat-form may draw on the Building. This Work, because I was ever an enemy to flattering Dedications, I have dedicated to your Lordship, in respect of our ancient and private acquaintance, and because, amongst the men of our times, I hold you in especial Reverence.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to the King, about the Pardon of the Parliaments Sentence.*

Most gracious and dread Sovereign,

BEfore I make my Petition to your Majesty, I make my Prayers to God above, *pectore ab imo*, That if I have held any thing so dear as your Majesties service, (nay) your hearts ease, and your honour, I may be repulsed with a denial. But if that hath been the principal with me, That God, who knoweth my heart, would move your Majesties royal heart to take compassion of me, and to grant my desire.

I prostrate my self at your Majesties feet; I, your ancient servant, now sixty four years old in age, and three years and five moneths old in misery: I desire not from your Majesty, means, nor place, nor imployment; but only, after so long a time of expiation, a compleat and total remission of the sentence of the Upper House, to the end that blot of ignominy may be removed from me, and from my memory with posterity, that I die not a condemned man, but may be to your Majesty, as I am to God, *Nova creatura.* Your Majesty hath pardoned the like to Sir *John Bennet*, between whose case and mine, (not being partial to my self, but speaking out of the general opinion) there was as much difference, I will not say, as between black and white, but as between black and gray, or ash-coloured. Look therefore down (dear Sovereign) upon me also in pity. I know, your Majesties heart is inscrutable for goodness; and my Lord of *Buckingham* was wont to tell me, you were the best natured man in the world; and it is Gods property, that those that he hath loved, he loveth to the end. Let your Majesties grace, in this my desire, stream down upon me, and let it be out of the fountain and spring-head, and *ex mero motu*, that living or dying, the print of the goodness of King *James* may be in my heart, and his praises in my mouth. This my most humble request granted may make me live a year

or two happify, and denied, will kill me quickly. But yet the last thing that will die in me, will be the heart and affection of

Your Majesties most humble,

July 30. 1624. *and true devoted servant,*

Fr. St. Alban.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to King* James, *of a Digest to be made of the Laws of* England.

Most Excellent Sovereign,

AMongst the Degrees and Acts of Sovereign, or rather Heroical Honour, the first, or second, is the person and merit of a Law-giver. Princes that govern well are Fathers of the People: But if a Father breed his Son well, and allow him well, while he liveth, but leave him nothing at his death, whereby both he, and his Children, and his Childrens Children, may be the better, it is not in him compleat. So Kings, if they make a portion of an Age happy by their good Government; yet if they do not make Testaments (as God Almighty doth) whereby a perpetuity of good may descend to their Countrey, they are but mortal, and transitory benefactors. *Domitian*, a few days before he dyed, dreamed, that a golden Head did rise upon the Nape of his Neck; which was truly performed in the golden Age that followed his times, for five Successions. But Kings, by giving their Subjects good Laws, may, if they will, in their own time, join and graff this golden Head upon their own necks, after their death: Nay, they make *Nabuchodonosors* Image of Monarchy, golden from head to foot. And if any of the meaner sort of Politicks, that are lighted only to see the worst of things, think, That Laws are but Cobwebs, and that good Princes will do well without them, and bad will not stand much upon them; the discourse is neither good nor wise. For, certain it is, That good Laws are good Bridles to bad Princes, and as a very Wall about Government. And if Tyrants sometimes make a breach into them, yet they mollifie even Tyranny it self, as *Solons* Laws did the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*; and then commonly they get up again, upon the first advantage of better times. Other means to perpetuate the memory and merits of Sovereign Princes, are inferiour to this. Building of Temples, Tombs, Palaces, Theatres,

Theatres, and the like, are honourable things, and look big upon Posterity: But *Constantine* the Great, gave the name well to those works, when he used to call *Trajan*, who was a great Builder, *Parietarius*, because his name was upon so many walls. So that, if that be the matter, that the King would turn Wall-flower, or Pelitory of the Wall, with cost he may. *Adrians* vein was better, for his mind was to wrastle a fall with Time; and being a great Progressor over all the *Roman* Empire, when ever he found any decayes of Bridges, or High-wayes, or cuts of Rivers and Sewers, or Walls, or Banks, or the like, he gave substantial order for their Repair. He gave also multitudes of Charters and Liberties for the comfort of Corporations, and Companies in decay; so that his Bounty did strive with the ruines of time. But yet this, though it were an excellent disposition, went but, in effect, to the Cases and Shells of a Commonwealth; it was nothing to Virtue, or Vice. A bad man might indifferently take the benefit and ease of his Wayes and Bridges, as well as a good; and bad people might purchase good Charters. Surely the better works of perpetuity in Princes, are they that wash the inside of the Cup; such as are foundations of Colledges and Lectures, for learning, and education for youth; likewise foundations and institutions of Orders and Fraternities, for Nobleness, Enterprize and Obedience, and the like: But yet these also are but like Plantations of Orchards and Gardens in plats and spots of ground here and there; they do not Till over the whole Kingdom, and make it fruitful, as doth the establishing of good Laws and Ordinances, which make a whole Nation to be as a well ordered Colledge or Foundation.

This kind of work, in the memory of time, is rare enough to shew it excellent; and yet not so rare, as to make it suspected for impossible, inconvenient, and unsafe. *Moses*, that gave Laws to the *Hebrews*, because he was the scribe of God himself, is fitter to be named for Honours sake to other Law-givers, then to be numbred and ranked amongst them. *Minos*, *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, are examples for Themes of Grammar-Scholars. For ancient Personages, and Characters, now a days, use to wax children again. Though that Parable of *Pindarus* be true, *The best thing is water*; for common and trivial things are many times the best, and rather despised upon pride, because they are vulgar, then upon cause or use. Certain it is, that the Laws of those three Law-givers had great prerogatives; the first, of fame, because they were the pattern among the *Grecians*; the second, of lasting, for they continued longest without alteration; the third, a spirit of reviver, to be often expired, and often restored.

Amongst the seven Kings of *Rome*, there were four Law-givers: For it is most true that a Discourse of *Italy* saith, *There was never State so well*

well ſwadled in the infancy, as the Roman *was, by the vertue of their firſt Kings*; which was a principal cauſe of the wonderful growth of that State in after-times.

The *Decemvirs* Laws were Laws upon Laws, not the Original; For they graffed Laws of *Græcia* upon the *Roman* ſtock of Laws and Cuſtoms: But ſuch was their ſucceſs, as the twelve Tables which they compiled were the main body of the Laws which framed and welded the great Body of that State. They laſted a long time, with ſome ſupplementals, and the *Pretorian* Edicts in *Albo*, which were, in reſpect of Laws, as Writing-tables in reſpect of Braſs, the one to be put in and out, as the other is permanent. *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* reformed the Laws of *Rome*: For that man had three ſingularities, which never Tyrant had but he; That he was a Law-giver; that he took part with Nobility; and that he turned private man, not upon fear, but upon confidence.

Cæſar, long after, deſired to imitate him only in the firſt; for otherwiſe, he relied upon new men; and for reſigning his power, *Seneca* deſcribeth him right, *Cæſar gladium cito condidit, nunquam poſuit*: And himſelf took it upon him, ſaying in ſcorn, of *Sylla*'s reſignation, *Sylla neſcivit literas, dictare non potuit.* But, for the part of a Law-giver, *Cicero* giveth him the Attribute, *Cæſar, ſi ab eo quæreretur quid egiſſet in Toga, leges ſe, reſpondiſſet, multas & præclaras tuliſſe.* His Nephew *Auguſtus* did tread the ſame ſteps, but with deeper print, becauſe of his long Reign in peace; whereof one of the Poets of his time, ſaith,

Pace data terris, animum ad Civilia vertit;
Jura ſuum legeſque tulit juſtiſſimus Author.

From that time, there was ſuch a race of Wit and Authority, between the Commentaries and Deciſions of the Lawyers, and the Edicts of the Emperours, as both Laws and Lawyers were out of breath: whereupon *Juſtinian*, in the end, re-compiled both, and made a Body of Laws, ſuch as might be wielded, which himſelf calleth glorious, and yet not above truth; the edifice or ſtructure of a ſacred Temple of Juſtice, built indeed out of the former ruines of Books, as materials, and ſome novel conſtitutions of his own.

In *Athens* they had *ſex viri*, as *Æſchines* obſerveth, which were ſtanding Commiſſioners, who did watch to diſcern what Laws were unproper for the times, and what new Law did, in any branch, croſs a former Law, and ſo, *ex officio*, propounded their Repeal.

King *Edgar* collected the Laws of this Kingdom, and gave them ſtrength

ſtrength of a Faggot bound, which formerly were diſperſed; which was more glory to him, than his ſailing about this Iſland with a great Fleet; for that was, as the Scripture ſaith, *Via Navis in Mari*, it vaniſhed; but this laſteth.

Alphonſo the Wiſe, the Ninth of that Name, King of *Caſtile*, compiled the Digeſt of the Laws of *Spain*, intituled, The *ſix Partidas*; an excellent Work, which he finiſhed in ſeven years: And, as *Tacitus* noteth well, That the Capitol, though built in the beginnings of *Rome*, yet was fit for the great Monarchy that came after; ſo that building of Laws ſufficeth the greatneſs of the Empire of *Spain*, which ſince hath enſued.

Lewis the Eleventh had in his mind, though he performed it not, to have made one conſtant Law of *France*, extracted out of the Civil *Roman* Law, and the Cuſtomes of Provinces, which are various, and the Kings Edicts, which with the *French* are Statutes. Surely he might have done well, if, like as he brought the Crown (as he ſaid himſelf) *hors de Page*, ſo he had brought his people from *Lacquay*, not to run up and down for their Laws, to the Civil Law, and the Ordinances of Courts, and Diſcourſes of Philoſophers, as they uſe to do.

King *Henry* the Eighth, in the Twenty ſeventh year of his Reign, was authorized by Parliament to nominate Thirty two Commoners, part Eccleſiaſtical, part Temporal, to purge the Common Law, and to make it agreeable to the Law of God, and the Law of the Land; but it took not effect: For the Acts of that King were, commonly rather proffers and fames, then either well grounded, or well purſued. But I doubt I err, in producing ſo many examples: for, as *Cicero*, ſaid to *Cæſar*, ſo may I ſay to Your Majeſty, *Nil vulgare, te dignum videri poſſit*, though, indeed, this, well underſtood, is far from vulgar; for that the Laws of both Kingdoms and States have been, like buildings, of many pieces, and patched up, from time to time, according to occaſions, without frame or model.

Now for the Laws of *England*, if I ſhall ſpeak my opinion of them, without partiality, either to my profeſſion, or Countrey, for the matter and nature of them, I hold them wiſe, juſt, and Moderate Laws; they give to God, they give to *Cæſar*, they give to the Subject, what appertaineth. It is true, they are as mixt as our Language, compounded of *Britiſh*, *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, *Norman* cuſtoms; and ſurely, as our Language, is thereby ſo much the richer, ſo our Laws are likewiſe, by that mixture, the more compleat. Neither both this attribute the leſs to them, then thoſe that would have them to ſtand out the ſame, in all mutations. For no tree is ſo good firſt ſet, as by tranſplanting and graf-

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fing. I remember what happened to *Caliſthenes*, that followed *Alexanders* Court, and was grown into ſome diſpleaſure with him, becauſe he could not well brook the *Perſian* adoration: At a Supper (which with the *Grecians* was a great part) he was deſired, the King being preſent, becauſe he was an eloquent man, to ſpeak of ſome Theme; which he did, and choſe for his Theme, the praiſe of the *Macedonian* Nation. Which, though it were but a filling thing, to praiſe men to their faces; yet he performed it with ſuch advantage of truth, and avoidance of flattery, and with ſuch life, as was applauded by the Hearers. The King was the leſs pleaſed with it, not loving the man, and by way of diſcountenance, ſaid, It was eaſie to be a good Orator in a pleaſing Theme: But, ſaith he to him, turn your ſtile, and tell us now of our faults, that we may have the profit, and not the praiſe only. Which he preſently did, with ſuch quickneſs, that *Alexander* ſaid, That Malice made him Eloquent then, as the Theme had done before. I ſhall not fall into either of theſe extreams in this Subject of the Laws of *England*: I have commended them before for the matter; but ſurely, they ask much amendment for the Form; which, to reduce and perfect, I hold to be one of the greateſt Dowries that can be conferred upon this Kingdom; which Work, for the Excellency, as it is worthy Your Majeſties Acts and Times, ſo it hath ſome Circumſtance of propriety agreeable to Your Perſon. God hath bleſſed Your Majeſty with poſterity, and I am not of opinion, that Kings that are barren are fitteſt to ſupply perpetuity of generations by perpetuity of noble acts; but contrariwiſe, that they that leave poſterity, are the more intereſſed in the care of future times, that as well their Progeny as their people may participate of their merit. Your Majeſty is a great Maſter in Juſtice, and Judicature, and it were pity, the fruit of that your vertue ſhould not be tranſmitted to the ages to come. Your Majeſty alſo reigneth in learned times, the more, no doubt, in regard of your own perfection in learning, and your Patronage thereof; and it hath been the miſhap of works, that the leſs learned time hath ſometimes wrought upon the more Learned, which now will not be ſo. As for my ſelf, the Law was my profeſſion, to which I am a debtor; ſome little help I have of my Arts, which may give form to matter; and I have now by Gods merciful chaſtiſement, and by his ſpecial provideuce, time and leaſure to put my Talent, or half Talent, or what it is, to ſuch exchanges, as may perhaps exceed the Intereſt of an active life. Therefore as in the beginning of my troubles, I made offer to Your Majeſty to take pains in the ſtory of *England*, and in compiling a Method, and Digeſt of your Laws, ſo have I performed the firſt (which reſted but upon my ſelf) in ſome part.

And

And I do in all humbleness renew the offer of this Letter (which will require help and assistance) to Your Majesty, if it shall stand with your good pleasure to imploy my service therein.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to the Right Honourable his very good Lord, the Earl of* Devonshire, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland.

IT may please your good Lordship, I cannot be ignorant, and ought to be sensible of the wrong which I sustain, Common speech, as if I had been false or unthankful, to that noble, but unfortunate Earl, the Earl of *Essex*: and for satisfying the vulgar sort, I do not so much regard it; though I love a good name; but yet as a hand-maid and attendant of honesty and vertue. For I am of his opinion, that said pleasantly, *that it was a shame to him that was a Suitor to the Mistress, to make Love to the Waiting-woman.* And therefore, to Wooe or Court common fame, otherwise then it followeth upon honest courses, I, for my part, find not my self fit nor disposed. But on the otherside, there is no worldly thing that concerneth my self, which I hold more dear, then the good opinion of certain persons, amongst which there is none I would more willingly give satisfaction unto, then to your Lordship. First, because you loved my Lord of *Essex*, and therefore will not be partial towards me, which is part of that I desire; next, because it hath ever pleased you, to shew your self to me an honourable friend; and so no baseness in me to seek to satisfie you. And lastly, because I know your Lordship is excellently grounded in the true rules and habits of duties and moralities, which must be they which shall decide this matter: wherein (my Lord) my defence needeth to be but simple and brief; namely, that whatsoever I did concerning that action and proceeding, was done in my duty and service to the Queen, and her State; in which I would not shew my self falsehearted nor faint-hearted, for any mans sake alive. For every honest man, that hath his heart well planted, will forsake his King, rather than forsake God; and forsake his Friends, than forsake his King; and yet will forsake any earthly Commodity; yea, and his own life, in some cases, rather than forsake his Friend. I hope the world hath not forgotten his degrees; else the Heathen saying, *amicus usque ad aras*, shall judge them: and if any man shall say, that I did officiously intrude my self into that business, because I had no ordinary place; the like may be said of all the business, in effect, that passed the hands of the learned Councel either

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of State or Revenue, these many years, wherein I was continually used; for, as your Lordship may remember, the Queen knew her strength so well, as she looked her word should be a Warrant; and after the manner of the choicest Princes before her, did not always tye her trust to place, but did sometimes divide private favour from office. And I, for my part, though I was not unseen in the world, but I knew the condition was subject to envie and peril; yet because I knew, again, she was constant in her favours, and made an end where she began; and especially, because she upheld me with extraordinary access, and other demonstrations, confidence and Grace, I resolved to endure it in expectation of better. But my scope and desire is, that your Lordship would be pleased to have the honourable patience to know the truth, in some particularity of all that passed in this cause, wherein I had any part; that you may perceive how honest a heart I ever bare to my Sovereign, and to my Countrey, and to that Nobleman who had so well deserved of me, and so well accepted of my deservings; whose fortune I cannot remember without much grief. But for any action of mine towards him, there is nothing that passed me in my life-time that cometh to my remembrance with more clearness, and less check of Conscience: For, it will appear to your Lordship, that I was not only not opposite to my Lord of *Essex*, but that I did occupy the utmost of my wits, and adventured my Fortune with the Queen, to have redintegrated his; and so continued faithfully and industriously, till his last fatal impatience (for so I will call it) after which day, there was not time to work for him, though the same my affection, when it could not work upon the subject proper, went to the next, with no ill effect towards some others, who (I think) do rather not know it, than not acknowledge it. And this I will assure your Lordship, I will leave nothing untold that is truth, for any enemy that I have to add; and on the other side, I must reserve much which makes for me, upon many respects of Duty, which I esteem above my Credit: And what I have here set down to your Lordship, I protest, as I hope to have any part in Gods favour, is true.

It is well known, how I did, many years since, dedicate my travels and studies to the use, and (as I may term it) service of my Lord of *Essex*; which, I protest before God, I did not, making election of him as the likeliest mean of my own advancement; but out of the humour of a man that ever from the time I had any use of Reason (whether it were reading upon good Books, or upon the example of a good Father, or by Nature) I loved my Countrey more then was answerable to my Fortune; and I held, at that time, my Lord to be the fittest instrument to do good to the State: and therefore I applied my self wholly to him,

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in a manner, which I think happeneth rarely amongſt men. For I did not only labour carefully and induſtriouſly in that he ſet me about, whether it were matter of advice, or otherwiſe; but neglecting the Queens Service, mine own Fortune, and in a ſort, my Vocation, I did nothing but deviſe and ruminate with my ſelf, to the beſt of my underſtanding, Propoſitions and Memorials of any thing that might concern his Lordſhips Honour, Fortune or Service. And when, not long after I entred into this courſe, my Brother, Mr. *Anthony Bacon*, came from beyond the Seas, being a Gentleman, whoſe abilities the World taketh knowledge of, for matter of State, ſpecially Forreign, I did likewiſe knit his Service to be at my Lords diſpoſing. And, on the other ſide, I muſt, and will ever acknowledge my Lords love, truſt and favour towards me; and laſt of all, his liberality, having enfeoffed me of land which I ſold for 1800 *l.* to Mr. *Reynold Nicholas*, and I think was more worth, and that at ſuch a time, and with ſo kind and noble circumſtances, as the manner was as much as the matter: Which, though it be but an idle digreſſion, yet becauſe I will not be ſhort in commemoration of his benefits, I will preſume to trouble your Lordſhip with the relating to you the manner of it.

After the Queen had denied me the Sollicitors place, for the which his Lordſhip had been a long and earneſt Suitor on my behalf, it pleaſed him to come to me from *Richmond* to *Twilknam* Park, and brake with me, and ſaid, Mr. *Bacon*, the Queen hath denied me the place for you, and hath placed another: I know you are the leaſt part of your own matter; but you fare ill, becauſe you have choſen me for your mean and dependance; you have ſpent your time and thoughts in my matters: I die (theſe were the very words) if I do not ſomewhat towards your Fortune; you ſhall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will beſtow upon you. My anſwer, I remember, was, That for my Fortune, it was no great matter; but that his Lordſhips offer made me call to mind what was wont to be ſaid when I was in *France*, of the Duke of *Guiſe*, That he was the greateſt Uſurer in *France*, becauſe he had turned all his Eſtate into Obligations, meaning, that he had left himſelf nothing, but only had bound numbers of perſons to him: Now, my Lord (ſaid I) I would not have you imitate this courſe, nor turn your ſtate thus by greateſt gifts into obligations, for you will find many bad Debtors. He bade me take no care for that, and preſſed it; whereupon I ſaid, I ſee my Lord, that I muſt be your Homager, and hold land of your gift; but do you know the manner of doing Homage in Law? always it is with a ſaving of his faith to the King, and his other Lords; and therefore, my Lord (ſaid I) I can be no more yours than I was, and it muſt be with the ancient ſa-

vings; and, if I grow to be a rich man, you will give me leave to give it back a gain to some of your un-rewarded followers.

But to return: Sure I am, (though I can arrogate nothing to my self, but that I was a faithful Remembrancer to your Lordship) that while I had most credit with him, his fortune went on best; and yet in too many points we always directly, and condradictorily differed; which I will mention to your Lordship, because it giveth light to all that followed. The one was, I always set this down, That the only course to be held with the Queen, was, by obsequiousness and observance; and I remember, I would usually gage confidently, that if he would take that course constantly, and with choice of good particulars to express it, the Queen would be brought in time to *Ahasuerus* Question, to ask, What should be done to the man that the King would honour? meaning, that her goodness was without limit, where there was a true concurrence, which I knew in her nature to be true: My Lord, on the other side, had a setled opinion, that the Queen should be brought to nothing, but by a kind of necessity and authority; and I well remember, when by violent Courses at any time he had got his Will, he would ask me; Now Sir, whose Principles be true? and I would again say to him, My Lord, these Courses be like to hot waters, they will help at a pang, but if you use them, you shall spoil the stomack, and you shall be fain still to make them stronger and stronger, and yet in the end they will lose their operation; with much other variety wherewith I used to touch that string. Another point was, That I always vehemently perswaded him from seeking greatness by a Military dependance, or by a Popular dependance, as that which would breed in the Queen, Jealousie; in himself, Presumption, and in the State, Perturbation; and I did usually compare them to *Icarus* two wings, which were joined on with wax, and would make him venture to soar too high, and then fail him at the height. And I would further say unto him, My Lord stand upon two feet, and flie not upon two wings. The two feet are the two kinds of *Justice*, commutative and distributive; use your greatness, for advancing of merit and vertue, and relieving wrongs and burthens, you shall need no other art of fineness; but he would tell me, that opinion came not from my mind, but from my robe. But it is very true, that I that never meant to enthrall my self to my Lord of *Essex*, nor any other man, more than stood with the publick good; did (though I could little prevail) divert him by all means possible from Courses of the Wars and Popularity: for I saw plainly, the Queen must either live or dye; if she lived, then the times would be, as in the declination of an old Prince; if she died, the times would be, as in the beginning of a new; and that if his Lordship did rise too fast in these

Courses,

Courſes, the times might be dangerous for him, and he for them. Nay, I remember I was thus plain with him upon his Voyage to the *Iſlands*, when I ſaw every ſpring put forth ſuch actions of charge and provocation, that I ſaid to him, My Lord, when I came firſt to you, I took you for a Phyſitian that deſired to cure the diſeaſes of the State; but now I doubt you will be like to thoſe Phyſitians which can be content to keep their Patients long, becauſe they would alwayes be in requeſt: which plainneſs he nevertheleſs took very well; as he had an excellent care, and was *patientiſſimus veri*, and aſſured me the caſe of the Realm required it; and I think this ſpeech of mine, and the like renewed afterwards, pricked him to write that Apology which is in many mens hands.

But this difference in two points, ſo main and material, bred, in proceſs of time, a diſcontinuance of privateneſs (as it is the manner of men ſeldom to Communicate where they think their courſes not approved) between his Lordſhip and my ſelf, ſo as I was not called, nor adviſed with, for ſome year and a half before his Lordſhips going into *Ireland*, as in former time; yet nevertheleſs touching his going into *Ireland*, it pleaſed him expreſly, and in a ſet manner, to deſire mine opinion, and Counſel; at which time I did not only diſſwade, but proteſt againſt his going, telling him, with as much vehemency and aſſeveration as I could, that abſence in that kind would exulcerate the Queens mind, whereby it would not be poſſible for him to carry himſelf ſo, as to give her ſufficient contentment, not for her to carry her ſelf ſo, as to give him ſufficient countenance, which would be ill for her, ill for him, and ill for the State. And becauſe I would omit no Argument, I remember I ſtood alſo upon the difficulty of the action, ſetting before him out of Hiſtories, that the *Iriſh* was ſuch an enemy, as the ancient *Gaules* or *Britains*, or *Germans* were, and that we ſaw how the *Romans* who had ſuch Diſcipline to govern their Souldiers, and ſuch Donatives to encourage them, and the whole World in a manner to levy them; yet when they came to deal with enemies which placed their felicities only in liberty, and the ſharpneſs of their Sword, and had the natural and elemental advantages of Woods and Boggs, and hardneſs of bodies, they ever found they had their hands full of them, and therefore concluded, that going over with ſuch expectation as he did, and through the churliſhneſs of the enterpriſe, not like to anſwer it, would mightily diminiſh his reputation and name; other reaſons I uſed, ſo as I am ſure, I never in any thing in my life-time, dealt with him in like earneſtneſs by ſpeech, by writing, and by all the means I could deviſe. For, I did as plainly ſee his overthrow, chained, as it were, by deſtiny to that Journey, as it is poſſible for any man to ground a Judgment upon future Contingents. But, my Lord, howſoever

his ear was open, yet his heart and resolution was shut against that advice, whereby his ruine might have been prevented.

After my Lords going I saw how true a Prophet I was, in regard of the evident alteration which naturally succeeded in the Queens minde, and thereupon I was still in watch to find the best occasion, that, in the weakness of my power, I could either take, or minister, to pull him out of the fire, if it had been possible; and not long after, me thought I saw some overture thereof, which I apprehended readily; a particularity which I think to be known to very few, and the which I do the rather relate to your Lordship, because I hear it should be talked, that while my Lord was in *Ireland*, I revealed some matter against him, or I cannot tell what; which if it were not a meer slander, as the rest is, but had any, though never so little colour, was surely upon this occasion. The Queen one day being at *Non-such*, a little, (as I remember) before *Cuffers* coming over, where I attended her, shewed a passionate distaste of my Lords proceedings in *Ireland*, as if they were unfortunate, without Judgment, Contemptuous, and not without some private end of his own, and all that might be, and was pleased, as she spake of it to many that she trusted less, so to fall into the like speech with me; whereupon I that was still awake, and true to my grounds which I thought surest for my Lords good, said to this effect: Madam, I know not the particulars of Estate, and I know this, that Princes occasions must have no abrupt periods or conclusions; but otherwise, I would think that if you had my Lord of *Essex* here with a white staff in his hand, as my Lord of *Leicester* had, and continued him still about you, for society to your self, and for an honour and ornament to your attendance and Court, in the eyes of your people, and in the eyes of Forreign Ambassadors, then were he in his right Element: for to discontent him as you do, and yet to put Arms and Power into his hands, may be a kind of temptation to make him prove cumbersome and unruly. And therefore, if you would *imponere bonam clausulam*, and send for him, and satisfie him with Honour here near you, if your Affairs (which as I have said) I am not acquainted with, will permit it, I think were the best way, which course, your Lordship knoweth, if it had been taken, then all had been well; and no contempt in my Lords coming over, nor continuance of these jealousies which that imployment of *Ireland* bred, and my Lord here in his former greatness: well, the next news that I heard, was, that my Lord was come over, and that he was committed to his Chamber, for leaving *Ireland* without the Queens Licence: this was at *Non-such*, where (as my Duty was) I came to his Lordship, and talked with him privately about a quarter of an hour, and he asked my opinion of the course that was taken with him; I told him,

him, My Lord, *Nubecula eſt, cito tranſibit*, it is but a miſt: but ſhall I tell your Lordſhip? it is as miſts are, if it go upwards, it may happily cauſe a ſhowr; if downward, it will clear up; and therefore good my Lord, carry it ſo, as you take away by all means, all umbrages and diſtaſtes from the Queen, and eſpecially, if I were worthy to admoniſh you (as I have been by your Lordſhip, thought, and now your queſtion imports the continuance of that opinion) obſerve three points. Firſt, make not this ceſſation or peace which is concluded with *Tyrone* as a ſervice wherein you glory, but as a ſhuffling up of a proſecution which was not very fortunate; next, repreſent not to the Queen any neceſſity of State, whereby, as by a coertion or wrentch, ſhe ſhould think her ſelf enforced to ſend you back into *Ireland*; but leave it to her. Thirdly, ſeek acceſs, *importune, opportune*, ſeriouſly, ſportingly, every way. I remember, my Lord was willing to hear me, but ſpake very few words, and ſhaked his head ſometimes, as if he thought he was in the wrong; but ſure I am, he did juſt contrary in every one of theſe three points. After this, during the while my Lord was committed to my Lord Keepers, I came divers times to the Queen, as I had uſed to do, about cauſe of Her Revenue and Law buſineſs, as is well known: by reaſon of which acceſſes, according to the ordinary charities of Court, it was given out that I was one of them that incenſed the Queen againſt my Lord of *Eſſex*. Theſe ſpeeches I cannot tell, nor I will not think that they grew any wayes from her own ſpeeches, whoſe memory I will ever honour: if they did, ſhe is with God, and *miſerum eſt ab illis lædi, de quibus non poſſis queri*. But, I muſt give this teſtimony to my Lord *Cecill*, that one time, in his houſe, at the *Savoy*, he dealt with me directly; and ſaid to me, Couſin, I hear it, but I believe it not, that you ſhould do ſome ill office to my Lord of *Eſſex*; for my part, I am meerly paſſive, and not active in this action, and I follow the Queen, and that heavily, and I lead her not; my Lord of *Eſſex* is one that in nature I could conſent with, as with any one living; the Queen indeed is my Sovereign, and I am her creature; I may not loſe her; and the ſame Courſe I would wiſh you to take; whereupon, I ſatisfied him how farre I was from any ſuch minde. And, as ſometimes it comes to paſſe, that mens Inclinations are opened more in a Toy, than in a ſerious matter: A little before that time, being about the middle of *Michaelmaſs* Term, her Majeſty had a purpoſe to dine at my lodging at *Twitnam* Park, at which time I had (though I profeſs not to be a Poet) prepared a Sonnet, directly tending to draw on her Majeſties reconcilement to my Lord, which I remember alſo I ſhewed to a great perſon, and one of my Lords neareſt friends who commended it: this

though

though it be (as I said) but a toy, yet it shewed plainly in what spirit I proceeded, and that I was ready not only to do my Lord good offices, but to publish and declare my self for him; and never was I so ambitious of any thing in my life-time, as I was to have carried some token or favour from her Majesty to my Lord, using all the art I had, both to procure her Majesty to send, and my self to be the Messenger; for as to the former, I feared not to alledge to her, that this proceeding towards my Lord was a thing towards the people very implausible; and therefore wished Her Majesty, howsoever she did, yet to discharge her self, and to lay it upon others; and therefore that she should intermixt her proceeding with some immediate graces from her self, that the world might take knowledge of her Princely nature and goodness, lest it should alienate the hearts of her people from her; which I did stand upon, knowing very well that if she once relented, to send or visit, those demonstrations would prove matter of substance for my Lords good: And to draw that imployment upon my self, I advised her Majesty, that whensoever God should move her to turn the light of her favour towards my Lord, to make signification to him thereof; that Her Majesty, if she did it not in person, would at the least use some such mean as might not intitle themselves to any part of the thanks, as persons that were thought mighty with her, to work her, or to bring her about; but to use some such as could not be thought but a meer Conduct of her own goodness; but I could never prevaile with her, though I am perswaded she saw plainly whereat I levelled; but she had me in jealousie that I was not hers entirely, but still had inward and deep respects towards my Lord, more then stood at that time with her will and pleasure.

About the same time, I remember an answer of mine in a matter which had some affinity with my Lords Cause; which, though it grew from me, went after about in others names; for her Majesty being mightily incensed with that Book which was dedicated to my Lord of *Essex*, being a story of the first year of King *Henry* the fourth, thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the peoples heads boldness and faction, said, she had an opinion there was treason in it, and asked me if I could not finde any places in it that might be drawn within Case of Treason: Whereto I answered; for treason, sure I found none; but for felony, very many. And when her Majesty hastily asked me, wherein? I told her, the Author had committed very apparent theft; for he had taken most of the sentences of *Cornelius Tacitus*, and translated them into *English*, and put them into his text. And another time, when the Queen could not be perswaded that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous Author, and said with

great

great indignation, that she would have him racked to produce his Author; I replied, Nay, Madam, he is a Doctor, never rack his person, but rack his stile; let him have pen, Ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoyned to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake, by collating the stiles, to judge whether he were the Author, or no. But for the main matter, sure I am, when the Queen at any time asked my opinion of my Lords Case, I ever, in one tenour, said unto her, that they were faults which the Law might term Contempts, because they were the transgression of her particular directions and Instructions: but then, what defence may be made of them in regard of the great Interest the person had in Her Majesties favour, in regard of the greatness of his place, and the ampleness of his Commission, in regard of the nature of the business, being action of war, which in common cases cannot be tyed to strictness of Instructions, in regard of the distance of the place; having also a Sea between his demands and Her Commands; must be subject to wind and weather, in regard of a Councel of State of *Ireland*, which he had at his beck to avow his actions upon; and lastly, in regard of a good Intention that he might alledge for himself, which, I told her, in some religions, was held to be a sufficient dispensation for Gods Commandments, much more for Princes: In all these regards I besought her Majesty to be advised again and again, how she brought the Cause into any publick question: Nay, I went further, for I told her my Lord was an eloquent and well spoken man; and besides his eloquence of nature or art, he had an eloquence of accident, which past them both, which was, the pity and benevolence of his hearers; and therefore when he should come to answer for himself, I doubted his words would have so unequal passage above theirs that should charge him, as would not be for her Majesties honour, and therefore wished the Conclusion might be, that they might wrap it up privately between themselves, and that she would restore my Lord to his former attendance, with some addition of honour, to take away discontent; But this I will never deny, that I did shew no approbation generally of his being sent back again into *Ireland*, both because it would have carried a repugnancy with my former discourse, and because I was in mine own heart fully perswaded, that it was not good, neither for the Queen, nor for the State, nor for himself; and yet I did not dissuade it neither, but left it ever as *locus lubricus*. For this particularitie I do well remember, that after your Lordship was named for the place in *Ireland*, and not long before your going, it pleased her Majesty at *Whitehall*, to speak to me of that nomination: at which time I said to her, Surely Madam, if you mean not to imploy my Lord of

Essex

Eſſex thither again, your Majeſty cannot make a better choice; and was going on to ſhew ſome reaſon, and her Majeſty interrupted me with great paſſion; *Eſſex* (ſaid ſhe) whenſoever I ſend *Eſſex* back again into *Ireland*, I will marry you! claim it of me: Whereunto I ſaid, well Madam, I will releaſe that Contract, if his going be for the good of the State. Immediately after the Queen had thought of a Courſe (which was alſo executed) to have ſomewhat publiſhed in the *Star-Chamber*, for the ſatisfaction of the World, touching my Lord of *Eſſex* his reſtraint, and my Lord not to be called to it, but occaſion to be taken by reaſon of ſome Libels then diſperſed; which when her Majeſty propounded unto me, I was utterly againſt it, and told her plainly, That the People would ſay, that my Lord was wounded upon his back, and that Juſtice had her balance taken from her, which ever conſiſted of an accuſation and defence, with many other quick and ſignificant terms to that purpoſe; inſomuch, that I remember, I ſaid, that my Lord, in *foro famæ*, was too hard for her; and therefore wiſh'd her, as I had done before, to wrap it up privately. And certainly, I offended her at that time, which was rare with me; for I call to mind, that both the *Chriſtmaſs*, *Lent*, and *Eaſter*-Term following, though I came divers times to her upon Law-buſineſſes, yet methought her face and manner was not ſo clear and open to me, as it was at the firſt: And ſhe did directly charge me that I was abſent that day at the *Star-Chamber*, which was very true; but I alledged ſome indiſpoſition of body to excuſe it; and during all the time aforeſaid, there was *altum ſilentium*, from her to me, touching my Lord of *Eſſex* cauſes. But towards the end of Eaſter Term Her Majeſty brake with me, and told me that ſhe had found my words true; for that the proceeding in the *Star-Chamber* had done no good, but rather kindled factious bruits (as ſhe termed them) then quenched them, and therefore that ſhe was determined now, for the ſatisfaction of the world, to proceed againſt my Lord in the *Star-Chamber* by an Information *ore tenus*, and to have my Lord brought to his Anſwer: howbeit, ſhe ſaid ſhe would aſſure me, that whatſoever ſhe did, ſhould be towards my Lord, *ad caſtigationem*, *& non ad deſtructionem*, as indeed ſhe had often repeated the ſame phraſe before: Whereunto I ſaid (to the end utterly to divert her,) Madam, if you will have me to ſpeak to you in this Argument, I muſt ſpeake to you as frier *Bacon's* head ſpake, that ſaid; firſt, *Time is*, and then *Time was*, and *Time would never be*; for certainly (ſaid I) it is now farr too late, the matter is cold, and hath taken too much wind; whereat ſhe

ſeemed

seemed again offended, and rose from me, and that resolution for a while continued; and after in the beginning of *Midsomer* Term, I attending her, and finding her setled in that resolution (which I heard of also otherwise) she falling upon the like speech, it is true, that seeing no other remedy, I said to her sleightly, Why, Madam, if you will needs have a Proceeding, you were best have it in some such sort, as *Ovid* spake of his Mistress, *Est aliquid luce patente minus*; to make a Councel-table matter of it, and end; which speech again she seemed to take in ill part, but yet I think it did good for that time, and help't to divert that Cause of Proceeding by Information in the *Star-Chamber*: Nevertheless, afterwards it pleased her to make a more solemn matter of the Proceeding, and some few dayes after, when order was given that the matter should be heard at *York-House*, before an Assembly of Councellors, Peers and Judges, and some Audience of men of Quality to be admitted; then did some principal Councellors send for us of the learned Councel, and notifie her Majesties Pleasure unto us; save that it was said to me openly, by some one of them, That her Majesty was not yet resolved whether she would have me forborn in the business or no. And hereupon might arise that other sinister and untrue speech that I hear is raised of me, how I was a Suitor to be used against my Lord of *Essex* at that time; for it is very true, that I that knew well what had passed between the Queen and me, and what occasion I had given her both of distaste and distrust in crossing her disposition, by standing stedfast for my Lord of *Essex*, and suspecting it also to be a stratagem arising from some particular emulation, I writ to her two or three words of Complement, signifying to her Majesty, That if she would be pleased to spare me in my Lord of *Essex*'s Cause, out of the Consideration she took of my obligation towards him, I should reckon it for one of her highest Favours; but otherwise desiring her Majesty to think that I knew the degrees of Duties, and that no particular obligation whatsoever to any Subject, could supplant or weaken that entireness of Duty that I did owe and bear to her and her Service; and this was the goodly Suit I made, being a respect no man that had his wits could have omitted; but nevertheless, I had a further reach in it; for I judged that dayes work would be a full period of any bitterness or harshness between the Queen and my Lord; and therefore if I declared my self fully according to her mind at that time, which could not do my Lord any manner of prejudice, I should keep my credit with her ever after, whereby to do my Lord Service.

Hereupon, the next news that I heard was, that we were all sent for again, and that her Majesties pleasure was, we should have all parts in the business; and the Lords falling into distribution of our parts, it was allotted to me that I should set forth some undutiful carriage of my Lord, in giving occasion and Countenance to a seditious Pamphlet, as it was termed, which was dedicated unto him, which was the book before mentioned, of King *H.* 4. Whereupon I replied to that allotment, and said to their Lordships, that it was an old matter, and had no manner of Coherence with the rest of the Charge, being matters of *Ireland*, and therefore that I having been wronged by bruits before, this would expose me to them more: and it would be said, I gave in evidence mine own tales. It was answered again, with good shew, that because it was considered how I stood tied to my Lord of *Essex*, therefore that part was thought fittest for me which did him least hurt; for that whereas all the rest was matter of Charge and Accusation, this only was but matter of Caveat and admonition; wherewith though I was in mine own Conscience little satisfied, because I knew well a man were better to be Charged with some faults, then admonished of some others: yet the Conclusion binding upon the Queens pleasure directly, *volens nolens*, I could not avoid that part that was laid upon me; which part, if in the delivery I did handle not tenderly (though no man before me did in so clear terms free my Lord from all disloyalty as I did) that your Lordship knoweth must be ascribed to the superiour duty I did owe to the Queens fame and honour in a publick proceeding; and partly, to the intention I had to uphold my self in credit and strength with the Queen, the better to be able to do my Lord good offices afterwards; for assoon as this day was past, I lost no time, but the very next day following (as I remember) I attended her Majesty, fully resolved to try and put in use my utmost endeavour, so far as I in my weakness could give furtherance, to bring my Lord speedily again into Court, and into favour; and knowing (as I supposed at least) how the Queen was to be used, I thought that to make her Conceive that the matter went well then, was the way to make her leave off there: and I remember well, I said to her, you have now, Madam, obtained victory over two things, which the greatest Princes in the world cannot at their wills subdue: the on is, over fame; the other is, over a great minde; for surely the world is now, I hope, reasonably well satisfied; and for my Lord, he did shew that humiliation towards Your Majesty, as I am perswaded he was never in his life time more fit for Your Majesties favour then he is now: therefore if your Majesty will not marr it by lingring, but give over at the best

beſt (and now you have made ſo good a full point, receive him again with tenderneſs) I ſhall then think that all that is paſt, is for the beſt. Whereat, I remember, ſhe took exceeding great Contentment, and did often iterate and put me in mind, that ſhe had ever ſaid, that her Proceeding ſhould be *ad reparationem*, and not *ad ruinam*; as who ſaith, that now is the time I ſhould plainly perceive that that ſaying of hers ſhould prove true. And further, ſhe willed me to ſet down in writing all that paſſed that day; I obeyed her Commandment, and within ſome few dayes after brought her again the Narration, which I did read unto her in two ſeveral Afternoons: And when I came to that part that ſet forth my Lords own Anſwer (which was my principal care) I do well bear in mind that ſhe was extraordinarily moved with it, with kindneſs and relenting towards my Lord, and told me afterwards, (ſpeaking how well I had expreſſed my Lords part) that ſhe perceived old love would not be forgotten: Whereunto I anſwered ſuddenly, that I hoped ſhe meant that by her ſelf. But in Concluſion, I did adviſe her, that now ſhe had taken a repreſentation of the matter to her ſelf, that ſhe would let it go no further: (for, Madam, ſaid I) the Fire blazeth well already, what ſhould you tumble it? And beſides, it may pleaſe you keep a conveniency with your ſelf in this Caſe; for ſince your expreſs direction was, there ſhould be no Regiſter nor Clerk to take this Sentence, nor no Record or Memorial made up of the Proceeding, why ſhould you now do that Popularly, which you would not admit to be done Judicially? Whereupon ſhe did agree, that that Writing ſhould be ſuppreſſed; and, I think, there were not five perſons that ever ſaw it. But from this time forth, during the whole latter end of that Summer, while the Court was at *Non-ſuch* and *Oatland*, I made it my task and ſcope to take and give occaſions for my Lords redintegration in his Fortunes. Which my intention I did alſo ſignifie to my Lord, as ſoon as ever he was at Liberty; whereby I might without peril of the Queens indignation write to him; and having received from his Lordſhip a courteous and loving acceptation of my good will and endeavours, I did apply it in all my acceſſes to the Queen, which were very many at that time, and purpoſely ſought and wrought upon other variable pretences, but only and chiefly for that purpoſe. And on the other ſide, I did not forbear to give my Lord from time to time faithful advertiſement, what I found, and what I wiſhed. And I drew for him, by his appointment, ſome Letters to her Majeſty, which though I

knew well his Lordships gift and stile was far better then mine own, yet becauſe he required it, alledging, that by his long reſtraint he was grown almoſt a ſtranger to the Queens preſent conceipts, I was ready to perform it; and ſure I am, that for the ſpace of ſix weeks, or two moneths, it proſpered ſo well, as I expected continually his reſtoring to his attendance. And I was never better welcome to the Queen, nor more made of, then when I ſpake fulleſt and boldeſt for him: in which Kind the particulars were exceeding many, whereof, for an example, I will remember to your Lordſhip one or two; as at one time, I call to mind, her Majeſty was ſpeaking of a Fellow that undertook to cure, or at leaſt to eaſe my Brother of his Gout, and asked me how it went forwards? And I told her Majeſty, that at firſt he received good by it, but after, in the courſe of his Cure, he found himſelf at a ſtay, or rather worſe: The Queen ſaid again, I will tell you, *Bacon*, the Errour of it; The manner of theſe Phyſitians, and eſpecially theſe Empiricks, is, to continue one kind of medicine, which, at the firſt, is proper, being to draw out the ill humour; but after, they have not the diſcretion to change their medicine, but apply ſtill drawing medicines, when they ſhould rather intend to cure and corroborate the part. Good Lord, Madam (ſaid I) how wiſely and aptly can you ſpeak and diſcern of Phyſick miniſtred to the body, and conſider not that there is the like reaſon of Phyſick miniſtred to the mind; as now, in the caſe of my Lord of *Eſſex*, your Princely word ever was, that you intended ever to reform his mind, and not ruine his Fortune: I know well, you cannot but think you have drawn the humour ſufficiently; and therefore it were more then time, and it were but for doubt of mortifying or exulcerating, that you did apply and miniſter ſtrength and comfort unto him; for theſe ſame gradations of yours, are fitter to corrupt, than to correct any mind of greatneſs. And another time, I remember, ſhe told me for News, that my Lord had written to her ſome very dutiful Letters, and that ſhe had been moved by them; and when ſhe took it to be the abundance of his heart, ſhe found it to be but a preparative to a Suit for the renewing of his Farm of ſweet Wines: Whereto I replied, Alas Madam, how doth your Majeſty conſtrue of theſe things, as if theſe two could not ſtand well together, which indeed nature hath planted in all Creatures? for there are but two ſympathies, the one towards *Perfection*, the other towards *Preſervation*; That to *Perfection*, as the Iron tendeth to the Loadſtone; that to *Preſervation*, as the Vine will creep unto a Stake or Prop that ſtands by it, not

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for any love to the ſtake, but to uphold it ſelf. And therefore Madam, you muſt diſtinguiſh, my Lords deſire to do you ſervice, is as to his perfection, that which he thinks himſelf to be bound for; whereas, his deſire to obtain this thing of you, is but for a ſuſtentation; and not to trouble your Lordſhip with many other particulars like unto this, it was at the ſame time that I did draw, by my Lords privitie, and by his appointment, two Letters, the one written as from my brother, the other, as an anſwer returned from my Lord; both to be by me in ſecret manner ſhewed to the Queen; which it pleaſed my Lord very ſtrangely to mention at the barr: the ſcope of which were but to repreſent and picture forth unto her Majeſty my Lords minde to be ſuch as I know her Majeſty would faineſt have had it; which Letters whoſoever ſhall ſee (for they cannot now be retracted or altered, being by reaſon of my brother, or his Lordſhips ſervants delivery, long ſince come into divers hands) let him judge, ſpecially if he knew the Queen, and do remember thoſe times, whether they were not the labours of one that ſought to bring the Queen about for my Lord of *Eſſex* his good. The truth is, That the iſſue of all this dealing grew to this, that the Queen, by ſome ſlackneſs of my Lord, as I imagine, liked him worſe and worſe, and grew more incenſed towards him: Then, ſhe remembring belike the continual and inceſſant, and confident ſpeeches and courſes that I had held on my Lords ſide, became utterly alienated from me, and for the ſpace of at leaſt three months, (which was between *Michaelmas* and *New-years tide* following) would not ſo much as look on me, but turned away from me with expreſs and purpoſe-like diſcountenance whereſoever ſhe ſaw me, and at ſuch time as I deſired to ſpeak with Her about Law buſineſs, ever ſent me forth very ſleight refuſals; inſomuch as it is moſt true, that immediately after *New-years-tide* I deſired to ſpeak with her, and being admitted to Her, I dealt with her plainly, and ſaid: Madam, I ſee you withdraw your favour from me, and now I have loſt many friends for your ſake, I muſt loſe you too; you have put me like one of thoſe that the French men call *Infans perdus*, that ſerve on foot before horſemen, ſo have you put me into matters of envy without place or without ſtrength; and I know, at Cheſs a pawn before the King is ever much plaid upon: a great many love me not, becauſe they think I have been againſt my Lord of *Eſſex*; and you love me not, becauſe you know I have been for him: yet will I never repent me that I have dealt in ſimplicty of heart towards you both, without reſpect of Cautions to my ſelf, and therefore *vivus videnſque pereo*: If I do break my neck, I ſhall

do it as *Dorrington* did, which walked on the Battlements of the Church many days, and took a view and survey where he should fall; and so, Madam (said I) I am not so simple, but that I take a prospect of my own overthrow; only I thought I would tell you so much, that you may know, it was faith and not folly that brought me into it; and so I will pray for you: upon which speeches of mine, uttered with some Passion, it is true, Her Majesty was exceedingly moved, and accumulated a number of kind and gracious words upon me, and willed me to rest upon this, *Gratia mea sufficit*, and a number of other sensible and tender words and demonstrations; such as more could not be: but as touching my Lord of *Essex*, *ne verbum quidem.* Whereupon I departed, resting then determined to meddle no more in the matter, as that that I saw would overthrow me, and not be able to do him any good. And thus I made mine own peace, with my own Confidence, at that time; and this was the last time I saw her Majesty before the eighth of *February*, which was the day of my Lord of *Essex* his misfortune: After which time, for that I performed at the Bar in my publick service, your Lordship knoweth, by the rules of duty, I was to do it honestly, without prevarication: but for any putting my self in it, I protest before God, I never moved the Queen, nor any person living, concerning my being used in the service, either of evidence or of examination; but it was meerly laid upon me with the rest of my fellows. And for the time that passed between the arraignment and my Lords suffering, I well remember I was but once with the Queen, at what time, though I durst not deal directly for my Lord, as things then stood, yet generally I did both commend her Majesties mercy, terming it to her as an excellent balme, that did continually distil from her Sovereign hands, and made an excellent odour in the scents of her people; and not only so, but I took hardiness to extenuate, not the fact (for that I durst not) but the danger, telling her, that if some base or cruel-minded persons had entred into such an action, it might have caused much blood and combustion; but it appeared well, they were such as knew not how to play the Malefactors, and some other words, which I now omit. And as for the rest of the carriage of my self in that service, I have many honourable witnesses that can tell, that the next day after my Lords arraignment, by my diligence and information, touching the quality and nature of the offendors, six of nine were stayed, which otherwise had been attainted, I bringing their Lordships Letter for their stay, after the Jury was sworn to pass upon them;

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ſo near it went: and how careful I was, and made it my part, that whoſoever was in trouble about that matter, aſſoon as ever his caſe was ſufficiently known and defined of, might not continue in reſtraint, but be ſet at liberty; and many other parts, which I am well aſſured of, ſtood with the duty of an honeſt man. But indeed, I will not deny, for the caſe of Sir *Thomas Smith* of *London*, the Queen demanding my opinion of it, I told her I thought it was as hard as many of the reſt; but what was the reaſon? becauſe at that time I had ſeen only his accuſation; and had never been preſent at any examination of his; and the matter ſo ſtanding, I had been very untrue to my ſervice, if I had not delivered that opinion. But afterwards, upon a re-examination of ſome that charged him, who weakned their own teſtimony; and eſpecially hearing himſelf *viva voce*, I went inſtantly to the Queen, out of the ſoundneſs of my Conſcience, not regardiug what opinion I had formerly delivered, and told her Majeſty, I was ſatisfied and reſolved in my Conſcience, that for the reputation of the Action, the Plot was to countenance the Action farther by him in reſpect of his place, then they had indeed any intereſt or intelligence with him; it is very true alſo, about that time her Majeſty taking a liking of my Pen, upon that which I formerly had done concerning the Proceeding at *York*-houſe, and likewiſe upon ſome former Declarations, which in former times by her appointment I put in writing, commanded me to pen that Book which was publiſhed for the better ſatisfaction of the World, which I did, but ſo as never Secretary had more particular and expreſs directions and inſtructions in every point, how to guide my hand in it; and not only ſo, but after that I had made a firſt draught thereof, and propounded it to certain principal Councellors, by her Majeſties appointment it was peruſed, weighed, cenſured, altered, and made almoſt a new Writing, according to their Lordſhips better conſideration, wherein their Lordſhips and my ſelf both were as religious, and curious of truth, as deſirous of ſatisfaction: and my ſelf, indeed, gave only words and form of ſtile, in purſuing their directions: And after it had paſſed their allowance, it was again exactly peruſed by the Queen her ſelf, and ſome alterations made again by her appointment; nay, and after it was ſet to Print, the Queen, who, as your Lordſhip knoweth, as ſhe was excellent in great matters, ſo ſhe was exquiſite in ſmall, and noted that I could not forget my ancient reſpect to my Lord of *Eſſex*, in terming him ever my Lord of *Eſſex*, in almoſt every Page of the Book, which ſhe thought not fit, but would have it made *Eſſex*, or

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the late Earl of *Essex*: whereupon, of force, it was Printed *de novo*, and the first Copies suppressed, by her peremptory Commandment. And this, my Lord, to my furthest remembrance, is all that passed, wherein I had part, which I have set down as near as I could in the very words and speeches as were used, not because they are worth the repetition, I mean those of mine, but to the end your Lordship may lively and plainly discern between the face of Truth, and a smooth Tale. And the rather also, because in things that passed a good while since, the very words and phrases did sometimes bring to my remembrance the matters, wherein I refer me to your honourable Judgment, whether you do not see the traces of an honest man; and had I been as well believed, either by the Queen or my Lord, as I was well heard by them both, both my Lord had been fortunate, and so had my self in his Fortune.

To conclude therefore, I humbly pray your Lordship to pardon me, for troubling you with this long Narration, and that you will vouchsafe to hold me in your good opinion, till you know I have deserved, or find that I shall deserve the contrary; and even so I continue,

At your Lordships honourable Commandments,

very humble, F. B.

SIR

A Diſcourſe touching Helps for the Intellectual Powers, by Sir Francis Bacon.

I Did ever hold it for an inſolent and unlucky ſaying, *Faber quiſque fortunæ ſuæ*; except it be uttered only as an hortative, or ſpur, to correct ſloth: For otherwiſe, if it be believed as it ſoundeth, and that a man entreth into an high imagination that he can compaſs and fathom all Accidents, and aſcribeth all Succeſſes to his drifts and reaches, and the contrary to his errours and ſleepings; it is commonly ſeen, that the Evening fortune of that man is not ſo proſperous, as of him that, without ſlacking of his induſtry, attributeth much to Felicity and Providence above him. But if the Sentence were turned to this, *Faber quiſque ingenii ſui*, it were ſomewhat more true, and much more profitable; becauſe it would teach men to bend themſelves to reform thoſe imperfections in themſelves, which now they ſeek but to cover; and to attain thoſe vertues and good parts, which now they ſeek but to have only in ſhew and demonſtration. Yet, notwithſtanding, every man attempteth to be of the firſt Trade of Carpenters, and few bind themſelves to the ſecond; whereas, nevertheleſs, the riſing in Fortune ſeldom amendeth the mind; but, on the other ſide, the removing of the ſtones and impediments of the mind, doth often clear the paſſage and current to a mans Fortune But certain it is, whether it be believed or no, that as the moſt excellent of Metals, Gold, is of all others the moſt pliant, and moſt enduring to be wrought; ſo of all living and breathing ſubſtances, the perfecteſt, Man, is the moſt ſuſceptible of help, improvement, impreſſion, and alteration, and not only in his Body, but in his Mind and Spirit; and there again, not only in his Appetite and Affection, but in his powers of Wit and Reaſon.

For, as to the Body of Man, we find many and ſtrange experiences, how Nature is over-wrought by cuſtom, even in actions that ſeem of moſt difficulty, and leaſt poſſible. As firſt, in voluntary motion, which though it be termed voluntary, yet the higheſt degrees of it are not voluntary; for it is in my power and will to run, but to run faſter than according to my lightneſs, or diſpoſition of body, is not in my power nor will. We ſee the induſtry and practice of Tumblers and *Funambulo's*, what effects of great wonder it bringeth the body of man unto. So for ſuffering of pain and dolour, which is thought ſo contrary to the nature of man, there is much example of Penances, in ſtrict Orders of Superſtition, what they do endure; ſuch as may well verifie the report

of the *Spartan* Boyes, which were wont to be ſcourged upon the Altar ſo bitterly, as ſometimes they died of it, and yet were never heard to complain. And to paſs to thoſe Faculties which are reckoned more involuntary, as long faſting and abſtinency, and the contrary extream, voracity; the leaving and forbearing the uſe of drink for altogether, the enduring vehement cold, and the like; there have not wanted, neither do want, divers examples of ſtrange victories over the body, in every of theſe. Nay, in reſpiration, the proof hath been of ſome, who by continual uſe of diving and working under the water, have brought themſelves to be able to hold their Breath an incredible time; and others, that have been able, without ſuffocation, to endure the ſtifling breath of an Oven or Furnace, ſo heated, as though it did not ſcald nor burn, yet it was many degrees too hot for any man, not made to it, to breath or take in: And ſome Impoſtors and Counterfeits likewiſe, have been able to wreath and caſt their bodies into ſtrange forms and motions; yea, and others to bring themſelves into Trances and Aſtoniſhments. All which Examples do demonſtrate, how variouſly, and to how high points and degrees the body of man may be (as it were) molded and wrought. And if any man conceive, that it is ſome ſecret propriety of Nature that hath been in thoſe perſons which have attained to thoſe points, and that it is not open for every man to do the like, though he had been put to it; for which cauſe, ſuch things come but very rarely to paſs: It is true, no doubt, that ſome perſons are apter than others; but ſo, as the more aptneſs cauſeth perfection, but the leſs aptneſs doth not diſable; ſo that for Example, the more apt Child that is taken to be made a *Funambulo*, will prove more excellent in his Feats; but the leſs apt will be *Gregarius Funambulo* alſo. And there is ſmall queſtion, but that theſe abilities would have been more common; and others of like ſort not attempted, would likewiſe have been brought upon the Stage, but for two Reaſons: The one, becauſe of mens diffidence, in prejudging them as impoſſibilities; for it holdeth in theſe things, which the Poet ſaith, *Poſſunt, quia poſſe videntur*; for no man ſhall know how much may be done, except he believe much may be done: The other Reaſon is, becauſe they be but practices baſe and inglorious, and of no great uſe, and therefore ſequeſtred from reward of value; and on the other ſide painful, ſo as the recompence balanceth not with the travel and ſuffering.

And as to the Will of man, it is that which is moſt manageable and obedient, as that which admitteth moſt Medicines to cure and alter it. The moſt ſovereign of all is Religion, which is able to change and transform it in the deepeſt and moſt inward inclinations and motions. And

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next to this, Opinion and Apprehenſion, whether it be infuſed by Tradition and Inſtitution, or wrought in by Diſputation and Perſwaſion. And the third is Example, which transforms the Will of man into the ſimilitude of that which is moſt obſervant and familiar towards it. And the fourth is, when one affection is healed and corrected by another. As when Cowardice is remedied by Shame and Diſhonour; or Sluggiſhneſs and Backwardneſs by Indignation and Emulation, and ſo of the like. And laſtly, when all theſe means, or any of them, have new framed or formed humane Will, then doth Cuſtom and Habit corroborate and confirm all the reſt: Therefore it is no marvel, though this faculty of the mind (of Will and Election) which inclineth Affection and Appetite, being but the inceptions and rudiments of Will, may be ſo well governed and managed, becauſe it admitteth acceſs to ſo divers Remedies to be applied to it, and to work upon it. The effects whereof are ſo many, and ſo known, as require no enumeration; but generally they do iſſue, as Medicines do, into kinds of Cures; whereof the one is a juſt or true Cure, and the other is called Palliation; for either the labour and intention is, to reform the affections really and truly, reſtraining them, if they be too violent, and raiſing them, if they be too ſoft and weak, or elſe it is to cover them; or if occaſion be, to pretend them, and repreſent them. Of the former ſort, whereof the Examples are plentiful in the Schools of Philoſophers, and in all other Inſtitutions of Moral Vertue: And of the other ſort, the Examples are more plentiful in the Courts of Princes, and in all Politick Traffick; where it is ordinary to find, not only profound diſſimulations, and ſuffocating the affections, that no note or mark appear of them outwardly, but alſo lively ſimulations and affectations, carrying the Tokens of Paſſions which are not; as *Riſus juſſus*, and *Lachryma coacta*, and the like.

Of Helps of the Intellectual Powers.

The Intellectual Powers have fewer means to work upon them, than the Will, or Body of Man; but the one that prevaileth, that is Exerciſe, worketh more forcibly in them than in the reſt.

The ancient Habit of the Philoſophers; *Si quis quærat, in utramque partem, de omni ſcibili.*

These that follow, are but indigeſted Notes.

The Exerciſe of Scholars, making Verſes *ex tempore*.

Stans pede in uno.

The Exerciſe of Lawyers, in Memory Narrative.

The Exerciſe of Sophiſts, and *Jo. ad o. poſitum*, with manifeſt effect.

Artificial Memory greatly holpen by Exerciſe.

The Exerciſe of *Buffons*, to draw all things to Conceits Ridiculous.

The Means that help the Underſtanding, and faculties thereof, are not Example, (as in the Will, by converſation; and here, the conceit of Imitation, already digeſted; with the conſutation, *Obiter, ſi videbitur*, of *Tullies* Opinion, adviſing a man to take ſome one to imitate. Similitude of faces analalyſed.)

Arts, Logick, Rhetorick; The Ancients, *Ariſtotle, Plato, Theſtetus, Gorgias, Litigioſus, vel Sophiſta, Protagoras, Ariſtotle, Schola ſua.* Topicks, *Elenchs*, Rhetoricks, *Organon*, *Cicero*, *Hermogenes.*

The Neotericks, *Ramus*, *Agricola*, *Nil ſacri Lullius.* His *Typocoſmia*, ſtudying *Coopers* Dictionary; *Matthæus* Collections of proper Words for Metaphors. *Agrippa*, *de Vanitate*, &c.

Quær. If not here, of Imitation.

Collections preparative, *Ariſtotles* ſimilitude of a Shooe-makers Shop full of Shooes of all ſorts: *Demoſthenes Exordia Concionum*: *Tullies* Precept of *Theſes* of all ſorts preparative.

The relying upon Exerciſe, with the difference of uſing and tempering the Inſtrument: And the ſimilitude of preſcribing againſt the Laws of Nature, and of Eſtate.

Five Points.

1. That Exerciſes are to be framed to the life; that is to ſay, to work Ability in that kind, whereof a man in the courſe of Action ſhall have moſt uſe.

2. The indirect and oblique Exerciſes, which do *per partes*, and *per conſequentiam*, inable theſe Faculties; which perhaps direct Exerciſe at firſt, would but diſtort. And theſe have chiefly place, where the Faculty is weak; not *per ſe*, but *per Accidens*: As if want of Memory, grow through lightneſs of Wit, and want of ſtayed Attention; than the Mathematicks, or the Law helpeth; becauſe they are things, wherein if the mind once roam, it cannot recover.

3. Of the Advantages of Exerciſe; as to dance with heavy Shooes, to march with heavy Armour and Carriage; and the contrary Advantage (in Natures very dull and unapt) of working Alacrity, by framing an Exerciſe with ſome delight or affection.

—— Veluti pueris dant Cruſtula blandi
Doctores, Elementa velint ut diſcere prima.

4. Of

4. Of the Cautions of Exercise; as to beware, lest by evil doing, (as all beginners do weakly) a man grow not, and be inveterate in an ill Habit; and so take not the advantage of Custom in perfection, but in confirming ill. Slubbering on the Lute.

5. The Marshalling and Sequele of Sciences and Practices; Logick and Rhetorick should be used to be read after Poesie, History and Philosophy; first, Exercise to do things well and clean; after, promptly and readily.

The Exercises in the Universities and Schools, are of Memory and Invention, either to speak by heart that which is set down *verbatim*, or to speak *ex tempore*; whereas, there is little use in Action of either of both: But most things which we utter, are neither verbally premeditate, nor meerly extemporal; therefore Exercise would be framed to take a little breathing, and to consider of Heads, and then to fit and form the Speech *ex tempore*. This would be done in two manners, both with Writing in Tables; and without, for in most Actions it is permitted and passable to use the Note; whereunto if a man be not accustomed, it will put him out.

There is no use of a Narrative Memory in Academies, *viz.* with Circumstances of Times, Persons and Places, and with Names; and it is one Art to discourse, and another to relate and describe: And herein use and action is most conversant.

Also to Sum up and Contract, is a thing in action of very general use.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to the King.*

May it please Your most Excellent Majesty,

IN the midst of my Misery, which is rather asswaged by Remembrance, than by Hope, my chiefest worldly Comfort is, to think, That since the time I had the first Vote of the lower House of Parliament for Commissioner of the Union, until the time that I was this Parliament chosen by both Houses, for their Messenger to Your Majesty in the Petition of Religion (which two, were my first and last Services) I was evermore so happy, as to have my poor Services graciously accepted by Your Majesty, and likewise not to have had any of them miscarry in my hands. Neither of which points, I can any wayes take to my self; but ascribe the former to Your Majesties Goodness, and the latter to Your prudent Directions, which I was ever careful to have, and keep: For, as I have often said to Your Majesty, I was towards you but as a Bucket, and a Cestern to draw forth and conserve, and Your Self was the Fountain. Unto this comfort of Nineteen years Prosperity, there succeeded

ceeded a Comfort even in my greateſt Adverſity, ſomewhat of the ſame Nature, which is, That in thoſe Offences wherewith I was charged, there was not any one that had ſpecial Relation to Your Majeſty, or any Your particular Commandments: For as towards Almighty God, there are Offences againſt the firſt and ſecond Table, and yet all againſt God; ſo with the Servants of Kings, there are Offences more immediate againſt the Sovereign, although all Offences againſt Law, are alſo againſt the King. Unto which Comfort, there is added this Circumſtance, That as my Faults were not againſt Your Majeſty, otherwiſe than as all Faults are; ſo my Fall is not Your Majeſties Act, otherwiſe than as all Acts of Juſtice are Yours. This I write not to inſinuate with Your Majeſty, but as a moſt humble Appeal to Your Majeſties gracious Remembrance, how honeſt and direct You have ever found me in Your Service, whereby I have an aſſured Belief, That there is in Your Majeſties Princely Thoughts, a great deal of Serenity, and Clearneſs to me, Your Majeſties now proſtrate, and caſt-down Servant.

Neither (my moſt gracious Sovereign) do I by this mentioning of my Services, lay claim to Your Princely Grace and Bounty, though the Priviledge of Calamity do bear that Form of Petition. I know well, had they been much more, they had been but my bounden Duty; nay, I muſt alſo confeſs, That they were from time to time far above my Merit, ſuper-rewarded by Your Majeſties Benefits, which You heaped upon me. Your Majeſty was, and is, that Man to me, that raiſed and advanced me Nine times, Thrice in Dignity, and Six times in Office. The places indeed were the painfulleſt of all Your Service, but then they had both Honour and Profit, and the then Profits, might have maintained my now Honour, if I had been wiſe. Neither was Your Majeſties immediate Liberality wanting towards me in ſome Gifts, if I may hold them. All this I do moſt thankfully acknowledge, and do herewith conclude, That for any thing ariſing from my ſelf to move Your Eye of Pity towards me, there is much more in my preſent Miſery, than in my paſt Services; ſave that the ſame Your Majeſties Goodneſs, that may give Relief to the one, may give Value to the other.

And indeed, if it may pleaſe Your Majeſty, This Theme of my Miſery is ſo plentiful, as it need not be coupled with any thing elſe. I have been ſome body, by Your Majeſties ſingular and undeſerved Favour, even the prime Officer of Your Kingdom, Your Majeſties Arm hath been often over mine in Council, when You preceded at the Table, ſo near I was. I have born Your Majeſties Image in metal, much more in heart. I was never in Nineteen years Service chidden by Your Majeſty, but contrariwiſe often over-joyed, when Your Majeſty would ſometimes ſay, I

was a good Husband for you, though none for my Self. Sometimes, *That I had a way to deal in buſineſs*, ſuavibus modis, *which was the way which was moſt according to Your own heart*; and other moſt gracious Speeches of Affection and Truſt which I feed on till this day: But why ſhould I ſpeak of theſe things which are now vaniſhed, but only the better to expreſs my Downfall? For now it is thus with me, I am a year and a half old in miſery, though (I muſt ever acknowledge) not without ſome mixture of Your Majeſties Grace and Mercy; for I do not think it poſſible, That any you once loved, ſhould be totally miſerable. My own means, through mine own improvidence, are poor and weak, little better than my Father left me: The poor things which I have had from Your Majeſty, are either in Queſtion, or at Courteſie. My Dignities remain marks of your paſt Favour, but yet burdens withall of my preſent Fortune. The poor Remnants which I had of my former Fortunes, in Plate or Jewels, I have ſpred upon poor men unto whom I owed, ſcarce leaving my ſelf bread; ſo as to conclude, I muſt pour out my miſery before Your Majeſty, ſo far as to ſay, *Si deſeris tu, perimus.*

But as I can offer to Your Majeſties Compaſſion, little ariſing from my ſelf to move You, except it be my extream miſery, which I have truly laid open; ſo looking up to Your Majeſty, Your Self, I ſhould think I committed *Cains* fault, if I ſhould deſpair. Your Majeſty is a King, whoſe heart is as unſcrutable for ſecret motions of Goodneſs, as for depth of Wiſdom. You are Creator like, Active, and not Deſtructive; You are a Prince, in whom I have ever noted an avertion againſt any thing that ſavoured of a hard heart; as on the other ſide, Your Princely Eye was wont to meet with any motion that was made on the relieving part: Therefore, as one that hath had the happineſs to know Your Majeſties near hand, I have (moſt gracious Sovereign) faith enough for a Miracle, much more for a Grace, That Your Majeſty will not ſuffer Your poor Creature to be utterly defaced, nor blot that Name quite out of Your Book, upon which Your Sacred hand hath been ſo oft, for new Ornaments and Additions. Unto this degree of Compaſſion, I hope, God above, of whoſe mercy towards me, both in my Proſperity and Adverſity, I have had great Teſtimonies and Pledges (though mine own manifold and wretched unthankfulneſs, might have averted them) will diſpoſe Your Princely heart, already prepared to all Piety: And why ſhould I not think, but that Thrice Noble Prince, who would have pulled me out of the fire of a Sentence, will help to pull me (if I may uſe that homely Phraſe) out of the mire of an abject and ſordid Condition in my laſt dayes? And that excellent Favourite of Yours (the goodneſs of whoſe Nature contendeth with the greatneſs of his Fortune, and

who

who counteth it a prize, a ſecond prize to be a good Friend, after that prize which he carrieth to be a good Servant) will kiſs Your hands with joy for any work of Piety You ſhall do for me: And as all commiſerating perſons (ſpecially ſuch as find their hearts void of malice) are apt to think, that all men pity them. I aſſure my ſelf, that the Lords of the Council (who out of their Wiſdom and Nobleneſs cannot but be ſenſible of humane Events) will in this way which I go, for the Relief of my Eſtate further, and advance Your Majeſties goodneſs towards me; for there is, as I conceive, a kind of Fraternity between great men that are, and thoſe that have been, being but the ſeveral Tenſes of one Verb: Nay, I do further preſume, that both Houſes of Parliament will love their Juſtice the better, if it end not in my Ruine; for I have been often told, by many of my Lords (as it were in excuſing the ſeverity of the Sentence) that they knew they left me in good hands. And Your Majeſty knoweth well, I have been all my life long acceptable to thoſe Aſſemblies, not by Flattery, but by Moderation, and by honeſt expreſſing of a deſire to have all things go fairly and well.

But (if it may pleaſe Your Majeſty) for Saints, I ſhall give them Reverence, but no Adoration; my Addreſs is to Your Majeſty, the Fountain of Goodneſs. Your Majeſty ſhall by the Grace of God, not feel that in Gift, which I ſhall extreamly feel in Help; for my Deſires are moderate, and my Courſes meaſured to a life orderly and reſerved, hoping ſtill to do Your Majeſty Honour in my way: Only I moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty to give me leave to conclude with thoſe words, which Neceſſity ſpeaketh, *Help me dear Sovereign, Lord and Maſter, and pity me ſo far, as I, that have born a Bagge, be not now in my Age, forced in effect, to bear a Wallett; nor I that deſire to live to ſtudy, may not be driven to ſtudy to live.* I moſt humbly crave pardon of a long Letter, after a long ſilence: God of Heaven ever bleſs, preſerve and proſper Your Majeſty.

Your Majeſties poor Ancient

Servant and Beadſman.

Fr. St. Alban.

Certain

Certain Copies of Letters written by Sir William Cecil *Knight, Secretary of Eſtate to Queen* Elizabeth, *to Sir* Hen. Norris *Knight, Ambaſſador for the ſaid Queen, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

I Am conſtrained to uſe the hand of my ſervant in writing unto you, becauſe I find it ſomewhat grievous to uſe mine own at this preſent: The Queens Majeſty hath received your letters with very good contentation, and alloweth your manner of beginning and proceeding, as well, I dare aſſure you, as your ſelf could deviſe; which I do not in words onely ſpeak, but wiſh you to take them for as good a truth as I can inform.

The rare manner of your entertainment hath moved the Queens Majeſty to Muze upon what courſe it ſhould be, being more then hath been uſed in like caſes to her Ambaſſadors; and ſuch as beſides your own report hath been by others very largely advertiſed; and for that in ſuch things gueſſes be but doubtful, I pray you by your next advertiſe me what your ſelf doth think of it; and in the mean time, I know you are not untaught to judge of the difference of fair words from good deeds, as the ſaying is, *Fortuna cum adblanditur captum advenit:* The Queens Majeſty meaneth to require this Ambaſſador expreſly to write unto the King there, in how good part ſhe taketh this manner of gratefull acceptation of you her ſervant there, giving him to underſtand how good report you have made thereof, and how much comforted you are, by this manner, to proceed in her ſervice there. Entertainment above ordinary.

I would have had her Majeſty to have written her own letters to the King, hereof; But her Majeſty made choice rather to ſpeak with the Ambaſſador, which ſhe will do to morrow, who cometh hither, and *La Croq* which cometh out of *Scotland*, and departeth ſhortly from hence thither into *France*, having been a good time in manner as an Ambaſſador with the *Scotiſh* Queen. To know the cauſe thereof.

Monſieur *Moret* is, I think, on the way coming hither out of *Scotland*; my Lord of *Bedford*, who came long ago out of *Scotland*, arrived here but of late, and hath brought us good report from the *Scotiſh* Queen, of her good diſpoſition to keep peace and amity with the Queens Majeſty.

Of late *Shane Oneal* hath made means to the Lord Deputy of *Ire-*

land, to be received into Grace, pretending that he hath not meant any manner of unlawfulneſs unto the Queen; by which is gathered, that he groweth weary of his lewdneſs; and yet I think he is not otherwiſe to be reformed, then by ſharp proſecution, which is intended to be followed no whit the leſs for any his fair writings, as reaſon is.

Of the troubles of the Low Countries, I think you be as well advertiſed there as we can be here; and of the likelihood of the Kings not coming into the Low Countries.

I cannot tell whether you are yet acquainted with Captain *Cockburne*, whoſe humor when you know, as I think *Barnaby* can ſhew you, I doubt not but you ſhall have of his hand no lack of intelligence, which you muſt credit as you ſhall ſee cauſe by proof of the event; he writeth almoſt weekly to me, and looketh for as many anſwers, which I cannot have leiſure to make him; but I pray let him underſtand that I accept his writing in very good part.

The manner of the dealing with them there for the particular cauſes contained in your inſtructions is very well to be liked; and I wiſh the ſucceſs of the anſwers to prove as good as the beginning hath appearance, and eſpecially for the relief of the poor Priſoners in the Gallies, whoſe ſtay, I fear, will grow indirectly by Monſieur *de Foix*, to get thereby the acquital of *Leſtrille*, whom ſurely he is bound in honor to ſee reſtored.

Since I had written thus much by my ſervants hand, and meant yeſternight to have ended the letter; I thought good to ſtay untill this preſent, that I knew by the *French* Ambaſſador, what *De la Crocq* ſhould do here; and amongſt other things, the Queens Majeſty hath very earneſtly expreſſed to the Ambaſſador her good liking and eſtimation of your Honorable entertainment, whereof you did advertiſe her Majeſty; and contrary to her former determination, did tell *La Crocq*, that he ſhould carry her Majeſties letters to the *French* King, of ſpecial thanks for the ſame; beſides words of viſitation, nothing paſſed this day otherwiſe; and therefore meaning not to keep your ſervant any longer, I end, with my very hearty commendations to your ſelf, and my Lady, and wiſh as well to you and all yours, as to my ſelf:

Feb. 10. 1566.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

To the Right Honorable, Sir Hen. Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador in* France.

SIR,

SIR,

THe Queens Majeſty continueth her good liking of your manner of negotiation, and your advertiſements to her Majeſty, which ſhe wiſheth you to continue: She alſo alloweth your diſcretion, in writing apart to me, in matters containing trouble and buſineſs, and to her of Advice; of all other things, ſhe moſt marvelleth at the anſwer ſent you by Monſieur *De Foix*, who ſeemeth not diſpoſed to perform his promiſe made to the Queens Majeſty, by a cavillation, alledging it to have been for his Maſter; wherefore you ſhall do well to ſay to him, That upon his anſwer reported hither, the Queens Majeſty ſeemeth to make doubt that you have not rightly conceived it; and therefore ſhe hath re-charged you to ſpeak with himſelf, and to require his anſwer; for you may ſay, her Majeſty advertiſed you that ſhe cannot be well perſwaded that you will forget your promiſe firmly made to her ſelf, for the ſafe delivery of *Leſtrille*; and when he was eſcaped of your advertiſement, that he was taken, and that he ſhould be returned into *England*; and if ſuch a promiſe be no otherwiſe kept, being made unto her, you may ſay her Majeſty ſhall finde it ſtrange how to credit an Ambaſſador; and ſo her Majeſty would that you ſhould charge him in fair words, and good manners, the beſt you can, to obtain *Leſtrille*. You may do well to learn how many priſoners do remain in the Gallies.

The ſtrange news of the death of the King of *Scots* will be come thither before theſe letters, but by your ſon you ſhall know as much as I have.

The Queens Majeſty would fain have a Taylor that had skill to make her Apparel, both after the *French* and *Italian* manner; and ſhe thinketh that you might uſe ſome means to obtain ſome one ſuch there as ſerveth that Queen, without mentioning any manner of requeſt in the Queen Majeſties name. Firſt, to cauſe my Lady, your wife, to uſe ſome ſuch means to get one, as thereof knowledge might not come to the Queen Mothers ears, of whom the Queens Majeſty thinketh thus, That if ſhe did underſtand that it were a matter wherein her Majeſty might be pleaſured, ſhe would offer to ſend one to the Queens Majeſty: Nevertheleſs, if it cannot be ſo obtained by this indirect means, then her Majeſty would have you deviſe ſome other good means to obtain one that were skillful.

I have ſtaid your Son from going hence now theſe two days, upon the Queens Majeſties Commandment, for that ſhe would have him to have as much of the truth of the circumſtances of the murther of the King of *Scots* as might be; and hitherto the ſame is hard to come by,

otherwiſe then in a generality, that he was ſtrangled, and his lodging razed with Gunpowder; his Father was firſt ſaid to have been ſlain; but it is not true, for he was at *Glaſco* at that time. It is conſtantly affirmed that there were thirty at the killing of him.

We look hourely for *Robert Melvin* from the Queen of *Scots*, by whom we muſt have that which he hath order to report.

The Queens Majeſty ſent yeſterday my Lady *Howard*, and my wife, to the Lady *Lenox* to the Tower, to open this matter unto her, who could not be by any means kept from ſuch paſſions of minde, as the horriblneſs of the fact did require. And this laſt night were with the ſaid Lady, the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and Doctor *Huick*; and I hope her Majeſty will ſhew ſome favourable compaſſion of the ſaid Lady, whom any humane nature muſt needs pity. After I had written thus far, Maſter *Melvin* came hither from *Scotland*, by whom we looked that we ſhould have heard many of the circumſtances of this murther; but he cannot, or may not, tell us any more then we heard before; the moſt ſuſpition that I can hear, is, of the Earl *Bothwell*; but yet I would not be the Author of any ſuch report, but onely do mean to inform you, as I hear, and as I mean, when I ſhall have more.

The Queens Majeſty cauſed the *French* Ambaſſador to be informed of the anſwer made to you by Monſieur *de Foix* concerning *Leſtrille*, who ſaith, when he hath ſpoken with the Queens Majeſty here, he will advertiſe the King then thereof. He ſeemed to underſtand, firſt, how ſome bargain might be made for *Leſtrille*. Secondly, whether the Queens Majeſty could not be pleaſed to have him delivered to you; but the meſſenger anſwered him, that he knew no other, but to have him returned hither according to the promiſe; and ſo you may do well therein to perſiſt.

Now ſeeing I am come to no more knowledge from *Scotland*, I will ſtay your Son no longer, wiſhing him well to come to you, and long to enjoy both you and my Lady;

From *Weſtminſter*, 20. Feb. 1566.

Yours aſſuredly, W. Cecill.

Poſtſcript.

I thank you for your offer, to ſend me the Book *de tranſlation de Religion*, which I have, but if there be any particular Charts newly printed, I pray you ſend me a Callender thereof, and of any new Books, whereupon I may chance crave of you ſome.

To the Right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

AFter my very hearty commendations, I ſend you herewith a Letter from the Queens Majeſty, by which you ſhall underſtand what her pleaſure is for you to deal with the *French* King, whereunto you may add, as you ſee occaſion, That you are informed, very credibly, that *Monlues* Company, now at their return, are ſuffered to make Port ſale of all that they have brought home from the Iſles of *Medera*. And therefore, if it might pleaſe his Majeſty to give direct order and charge, for due reſtitution of that which was ſpoiled from the Queens Subjects; It is likely the parties ſhall be able enough to make recompence; my meaning herein is, that the *French* King and his Council may perceive that it is well known, how theſe Pirates are ſuffered to do what they will, notwithſtanding contrary Proclamations; and yet you ſhall ſo utter this matter, as not that you finde fault with this manner of ſufferance, for that ought properly to be to the *Spaniſh* or *Portugal* Ambaſſador, with whom you may ſometime deal, to underſtand how they do know what is done, and how they do interpret it.

You ſhall ſhortly hear of ſome ſpecial perſon, that ſhall be ſent thither in Ambaſſage, to joyn with you for the demanding of *Callis*, which is due, by the Treaty of *Cambray*, to be reſtored to the Queens Majeſty the ſecond day of *April* next; but who it is that ſhall come, as yet I cannot advertiſe.

The manner of the death of the King of *Scots* is not yet diſcovered to us, for the knowledge of the Author thereof; but there hath been Proclamation made, that whoſoever would reveal the offendors ſhall have two thouſand pound *Scotiſh*; and if he were a party, ſhould have his pardon and five hundred pounds; the day after a Bill was ſet up in *Edenburgh*, in this ſort, *I, according to the Proclamation, have made inquiſition for the ſlaughter of the King, and do finde the* Earle Bothwell, *Mr.* James Bafour, *Parſon of* Fliſk, *Mr.* David Chamber, *and* Black *Mr.* John Spence, *the principal deviſers thereof; and if this be not true, ſpir. at* Gilbert Bafour. There were alſo words added, which I am loth to report, that touched the Queen of *Scots*, which I hold beſt to be ſuppreſt: Further, ſuch perſons anointed are not to be thought ill of without manifeſt proof.

The next day following, a ſecond Proclamation was made, repeating the former Bill, willing the party to ſubſcribe his name, and he ſhould be pardoned, and have the money according to the firſt Proclamation. The next day, being the nineteenth of *February*, a ſecond Bill was ſet up in the former place, offering to compear and avow the matter; ſo as the money might be put into indifferent hands; and that

Sir

Sir *Francis Baſtine*, *Joſeph* and *Moſes Miſhe* be taken; and then he the exhibitor of the Bill would avow the whole matter, and declare every mans act. Thus far things paſſed till that day, and ſince that, I hear that much unquietneſs is like to grow about that matter; and the common ſpeech toucheth the Earles, *Bothwell* and *Huntly*, who remain with the Queen; but how true the accuſations are, I will not take upon me to affirm the one or the other; neither would I have you to utter any of theſe things, to make condemnation of any of them, but as reports, not doubting but ſhortly God will cauſe the truth to be revealed. There do adhere together with the Earl of *Lenox*, the Earles of *Argile*, *Morton*, *Athell*, *Morrey*, *Catneſs*, and *Glencarne*, who mean to be at *Edenburgh* very ſhortly, as they pretend, to ſearch out the malefactors.

Of late you wrote unto me of one *King* an *Engliſhman*, who doth miſuſe himſelf very much, of whom if you would write unto me ſomewhat more particularly, for the proof his Traiterous ſpeeches, whereby there might be ſome good ground made, how to have him demanded, you ſhall hear more thereof, and ſo ſhall (percaſe) by the next, though I do not hear from you; and ſo fare you heartily well.

Weſtm. 5. *March*, 1566.

Yours aſſuredly
W. Cecil.

Poſtſcript.

Becauſe I have not preſently leiſure to write to Mr. *Man*, Ambaſſador in *Spain*, I pray you to let him underſtand of ſuch advertiſments as I ſend you, and ſuch other things as you ſhall think meet; And to convey the letters by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors means, Reſident there in that Court.

To the Right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

I wrote of late to you, that Sir *Thomas Smith* ſhould come ſhortly thither, but I think he ſhall not be there now ſo ſpeedily as was meant; for he ſhall firſt ſecretly paſs over to *Callis*, to be there the 3. *April*, to demand the Town, not that we think the Governour will deliver it, But to avoid all Cavillation which they might invent (for by Law it muſt be demanded at the very place, and being not delivered, the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds is forfeited;) Maſter *Winter* ſhall paſs ſecretly with him to take poſſeſſion thereof, if they ſhall deceive our expectation; but not paſt three of the Council knoweth of *Winters* going.

The

The common fame in *Scotland* continueth upon the Earl *Bothwell*, to be the principal Murtherer of the King, and the Queens name is not well ſpoken of; God amend all that is amiſs: We heard before your writing, of the *French* attempt for the Prince.

We have no news, but all well here; the matters of *Flanders* go very hard for the Proteſtants; and if God do not provide for their ſafety, I look for their ruine. I heard this day, that *Danvile* ſhould be ſlain: fare you well.

Weſtm. 21. *March* 1566. *Yours aſſuredly,*
W. Cecil.

To the Right Honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

BY the Queens Majeſties letters, and by this bearer, you ſhall underſtand how earneſtly her Majeſty is inclined to help the Count *Rocandolfe*; and ſince the writing of her Majeſties letters, ſhe hath commanded me that you ſhould make it a principal part of your requeſt to the King, and the Queen mother; that conſidering the Count is a ſtranger born, and is of the Order of *France*, that his cauſe might be heard and ordered by the King, and the others of the ſame order; and to that end you ſhall proſecute your requeſt, that the whole cauſe may be removed from the Court of Parliament at *Paris*; wherein her Majeſty would have you by all good means to perſiſt, as in a requeſt that of it ſelf is honorable, and ſometimes, as ſhe thinketh, uſual. At the leaſt ſuch as if any the like perſon being a ſtranger in her Realm, and being honored with the Order of the Garter, if he would require to have his cauſes, (wherein his life or honor were touched) to be heard by her Majeſty, and her Knights of her Order; he ſhould not be denyed, nor ſhould be by any other Judges moleſted.

Thus I report to you her Majeſties good pleaſure; and thereto do add my poor private requeſt, to beſeech you not to be weary in the proſecution of this ſuit.

Weſtm. 9. *March*, 1567. *Yours aſſuredly,*
W. Cecil.

To the Right Honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, Her Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

SIR,

YEsterday Mr. *Smiths* Son arrived with ſome Letters from you and him, containing your troubleſome negotiation, whereof we hear thought very long. He ſaith he was conſtrained to tarry ſix days at *Hull*, and that his Father would be here this night; you ſhall hereafter hear of ſome ill news out of *Ireland*; and though it be not of great moment, thanks be to God, yet by report of ill friends, they wil be amplified. Indeed the 21. of *April*, a Fire happened in a little Fort upon the Sea ſide, at a place called the *Dirrye*, which Mr. *Randolphe* firſt took, in ſuch ſort as the houſes being all covered with Straw, the ſoldiers were forced to abandon it, being two hundred, and with their Captain Mr. *Semtho*, came by Sea to *Knockyergus* a Caſtle of the Queens; but for all this it is meant to take again the place, or a better, and to proſecute the Rebel, who is in declination.

The Queen of *Scots*, I think, will be wooed to marry the Earl *Bothwell*; the principal of the Nobility are againſt it, and are at *Sterling* with the Prince. Fare ye well; and as I wrot by Mr. *Shute*, ſo aſſure your ſelf of me, as you mean your ſelf to me:

May 12. 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecil.

To the Right Honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, her Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

BY your laſt Letter of I underſtand of the intelligence was given unto you, of preparation of eight Ships, to be ſet out to the Seas, which ſeemeth very ſtrange; and therefore the Ambaſſador here, who could not get Audience of the Queens Majeſty, although he often demanded it, ſince Mr. *Smiths* return, was ſent for to come to the Council, and was roundly charged with certain depredations committed upon *Engliſh* Merchants in the Weſt; and alſo with this new preparation, and therewith warned to advertiſe his Maſter, that we could not long ſuffer ſuch attempts unrevenged; and being ſomewhat amazed with the charge, he denyed the things very flatly, and promiſed to write very earneſtly therein to the King his Maſter. And for concluſion, we ſaid, that we would write unto you, to move the King to make reſtitution, and to prohibit the going to the Seas of any other but of thoſe that were good Merchants in this time of peace, according to the Treaty;

of

of which our negotiation you ſhall hear more ſhortly by Letters from the Council, although I thought it good, by this my private Letter, ſomewhat to touch it unto you.

This ſpeech with the Ambaſſador was on Saturday, the fourth of this preſent; and upon importunity of the Ambaſſador, he had Audience of the Queens Majeſty this day, to whom he ſhewed a Letter from the King, that *Percivall* coming over with Letters of late thither, was ſtayed at *Deip*; and the King hearing that he had Letters from the Queens Majeſty, ordered to diſmiſs him, and willed the Ambaſſador to pray the Queen to think no offence in it, for the ſaid *Percivall* was to be Arreſted in *France* for great debts which he ow'd there; beſides that, as the Ambaſſador ſaith, he is to be charged there with a murther. After he ſhewed this Letter to her Majeſty, ſhe called the Lord Chamberlain and me to her in his preſence, being no more of her Council then; and in very round ſpeeches told the Ambaſſador, that ſhe did not take the *French* Kings anſwer, for the matter of *Callis*, in good part; and ſo much the worſe, becauſe the Queen Mother, by her Letters ſent by Mr. *Smith*, wrote that her Son had given very benign Audience, and ſo reaſonable an anſwer, as ought well to content her Majeſty. In which manner of ſpeech, ſhe ſaith, ſhe is not well uſed, conſidering the anſwer was altogether unjuſt and unreaſonable; and if hereof the Ambaſſador ſhall make any ſiniſter report, you may, as you ſee cauſe, well maintain the Queens anſwer to be very reaſonable, as having cauſe to miſlike the manner of writing of the Queen thereon; which, nevertheleſs, you may impute to the unadviſedneſs of the Secretaries, for ſo the Queens Majeſty here did impute it.

Upon Sunday laſt I received Letters from *Barnaby*, your Secretary, who therein did very well advertiſe me of the ſtaying of *Percival* at *Deip*, and indeed I do finde that the cauſe hath grown from the Ambaſſador here, either of diſpleaſure, or of ſuſpition that he hath againſt the State *Ro. Condulphe*, for whom he knew *Percival* was ſpecially ſent; and finding this day the Ambaſſador very earneſt in private ſpeech with my Lord of *Leiceſter* and my ſelf, that *Percivall* would be Arreſted in *France*, after that he had delivered the Queens Letters; I adviſed him to write to the contrary; for otherwiſe he might provoke us to do the like with his Meſſengers; and ſurely, if I may be ſuffered, ſo will I uſe them.

I have no more to write unto you; But I can aſſure you that the Queen of *Scots* was married the 15. of this *May*, and the Nobility therewith ſo offended, as they remain with the Prince, and keep apart from her; what will follow, I know not. My Lady your Wife is ſafely arrived, and was long with the Queen on Sunday: I thank you for the little

French Book which ſhe brought me, the like whereof I had before.

May 27. 1567. *Yours aſſuredly,*
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

THe matters of *Scotland* grow ſo great, as they draw us to be very careful thereof; I think not but you do hear of them by the reports; but briefly theſe they be: The beſt part of the Nobility hath confederated themſelves, to follow, by way of Juſtice, the condemnation of *Bothwell* and his Complices, for the murther of the King; *Bothwell* defends himſelf by the Queens maintenance and the *Hambletons*, ſo as he hath ſome party, though it be not great. The 15. of this moneth he brought the Queen into the field, with her power, which was ſo ſmall, as he eſcaped himſelf without fighting, and left the Queen in the field; and ſhe yielding her ſelf to the Lords, flatly denyed to grant Juſtice againſt *Bothwell*; ſo as they have reſtrained her in *Lothleven*, untill they may come unto the end of their purſuit againſt *Bothwell*.

The *French* Ambaſſador, and *Villeroy*, who is there, pretend to favour the Lords with very great offers, and, it may be, they do as much on the other ſide.

At this time I ſend unto you certain Packets of Letters, left here by Mr. *Melvin*, who lately came hither from the Queen of *Scots*; the ſending of thoſe to my Lord of *Murray* requireth great haſte, whereof you may not make the *Scotiſh* Ambaſſador privy; but I think you may make *Robert Steward* privy, with whom you may confer, for the ſpeedy ſending away of the ſame letters.

His return into *Scotland* is much deſired of them; and for the Weal both of *England* and *Scotland*, I wiſh he were here; and for his manner of returning, touching his ſafety, I pray require Mr. *Steward* to have good care.

Our Wars in *Ireland* are come to a good paſs; for the Arch-Traytor *Shane-Oneale* is ſlain by certain *Scots* in *Ireland*, of whom he ſought aid (one murtherer killed by many murtherers) hereby the whole Realm, I truſt, will become quiet; I pray you, of thoſe things that our Ambaſſador in *Spain*, by your letters, may be advertiſed, whereof I cannot at this time make any ſpecial letter unto him, for lack of leiſure; and ſo, I pray, advertiſe him from me: I am pitifully overwhelmed with buſineſs.

Sir

Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* is ſhortly to paſs into *Scotland*, to negotiate there for the pacification of thoſe troubles.

Richmond, 26. June 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*, W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

THis your Lackquey brought me letters from you, and alſo from your ſervant Mr. whom he left at *Rye*; for ſuch buſineſs as by his letter he hath certified me, whereof I have informed the Queens Majeſty, wherein ſhe alſo well alloweth of your circumſpection; and I wiſh all to ſucceed as you adviſe, for otherwiſe the peril were great. Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* hath been ſomewhat long in going into *Scotland*, and entred by *Berwick* on Munday laſt; I think the two Factions of the *Hamblitons* and the *Lenox's* ſhall better accord then your neighbors where you now live would; if *Bothwell* might be apprehended, I think the Queen, there, ſhall be at good liberty, for the Nobility.

My Lord of *Pembrooke* perceiving likelihood of troubles there in that Country, would gladly have his Son Mr. *Edward Herbert* to return home; and ſo, I pray, with my hearty commendations to him, declare my Lord his Fathers minde; and if my Lord of *Murray* ſhould lack credit for money, my Lord Steward would have his Son give him ſuch credit as he hath, for my Lord alloweth well of his friendſhip. I am ſorry that at preſent I am unfurniſhed to help you with a Secretary; my ſervant *Windebanke* is ſick, Mr. *Sommers* will not be induced to leave his place. So as, nevertheleſs, if I can procure you any other meet perſon, by the next Meſſenger, you ſhall hear.

I thank you for the Chart of *Paris*, and for a written Book to the Queens Majeſtie, whereof her Majeſty would gladly know the Author; And ſo I end.

Richmond, 14. *July*, 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*, W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

AT my laſt writing by Maſter *Jenny*, I did not make any mention of anſwer to your requeſt for the proviſion of a Secretary, Becauſe I heard that you meant to place one *Molenenx*, if he might be recommended by me; and truly if he be meet for the place, I do well allow thereof; for howſoever he did in times paſt miſuſe me, I have remitted it, and wiſh him well.

My Lord Keeper prayeth you to uſe ſome good means, to inquire by the way of *Orleans*, of Sir *Ralph Pawlet*, what is become of him, and where he is, and how he doth.

It is certain, on the 29. of *July*, the Prince of *Scotland* was Crowned King at *Sterling*, with all the Ceremonies thereto due, and with a general applauſe of all ſorts; the Queen yet remaineth where ſhe was.

Windſor, 5. *Aug.* 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

YOu ſhall perceive by the Queens Majeſties Letter to you, at this preſent, how earneſtly ſhe is bent in the favor of the Queen of *Scots*; and truely, ſince the beginning, ſhe hath been greatly offended with the Lords; and howſoever her Majeſty might make her profit by bearing with the Lords in this Action, yet no counſel can ſtay her Majeſtie from manifeſting of her miſliking of them; So as, indeed, I think thereby the *French* may and will eaſily catch them, and make their preſent profit of them, to the damage of *England*; and in this behalf her Majeſty had no ſmall miſliking of that Book which you ſent me, written in *French*, whoſe name yet I know not; but howſoever I think him of great Wit, and acquaintance in the affairs of the world: It is not in my power to procure any reward, and therefore you muſt ſo uſe the matter, as he neither be diſcouraged, nor think unkindneſs in me.

When all is done, I think my Lord of *Murray* will take the Office of Regency; and will ſo band himſelf with the reſt, as he will be out of peril at home. And as for External power to offend them, I think they are ſo skillful of other Princes cauſes and needs, as I think they will remain without fear.

We are occupied with no news greater then this of *Scotland*; We begin

gin to doubt of the King of *Spains* coming out of *Spain*, finding it more likely for his Son to come.

In *Ireland* all things proceed ſmoothly, to make the whole Realm obedient; the Deputie hath leave to come over to confer with the Queens Majeſty upon the affairs.

My Lord of *Suſſex* wrot from *Auguſta*, the 24. of *July*, that he meant to be at *Vienna* the laſt of *July*, and alſo that the Emperot meant to be there at the ſame time.

I muſt heartily pray you to bear with my advice, that in your expences you have conſideration not to expend ſo much as by your Bills brought to me by your ſervant *Cartwright* it ſeemeth you do; for truely I have no Warrant to allow ſuch ſeveral Fees as be therein contained, neither did I know any of the like allowed to any of your predeceſſors; and in the paying for your intelligences, if you be not well ware, you ſhall, for the moſt part, have counterfeited ware for good money.

In matters of importance, or when you are preciſely commanded to proſecute matters of weight, it is reaſon your extraordinary charges be born; but as to the common Adviſees of the Occurrents abroad, they are to be commonly had for ſmall value, and many times as news for news; for at this day the common Adviſees from *Venice*, *Rome*, *Spain*, *Conſtantinople*, *Vienna*, *Geneva*, *Naples*, yea and from *Paris*, are made ſo currant, as every Merchant hath them with their letters from their Factors. If I did not know your good Nature, I would not thus plainly write; and yet if I ſhould not hereof warn you, your expences might increaſe, and I know not how to procure your payment; and yet hereby I mean to do my beſt at all times to help you to allowance for all neceſſary expences; and ſo take my leave.

From the Mannor of *Guilford*, 19. *Aug.* 1567.

Yours aſſuredly.
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight*, *the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador*, *Reſident in* France.

SIR,

I Have had no good Meſſenger of good time to write unto you; the Queens Majeſty hath been abroad from *Windſor* theſe twenty dayes, and returned on Saturday very well.

Lignerolls is come out of *Scotland* with very ſmall ſatisfaction, as I think; he could not ſpeak with the Queen, no more then Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, who alſo is returning. The

The *Hambletons* hold out, the Earl of *Murray* is now Regent; the Queens Majesty our Sovereign remaineth still offended with the Lords, for the Queen, the example moveth her.

In *Ireland* all things prosper and be quiet; Sir *Henry Sydney* shall come onely to confer, and shall return to keep a Parliament in *Ireland*.

My Lord of *Sussex* was honorably received the fifth of *August*, lodged and defrayed by the Emperor, had his first Audience on the eight; the Arch-Duke *Charles* was looked for within five days; and now we daily look for Sir *Henry Cobham* to come in Post, at the least, within these ten days.

All things are quiet within this Realm, thanked be Almighty God.

I have presently a paper sent me from *Antwerp* in *French*, very strange, containing an Edict, to compell all Judges, Governors, all Officers and Councellors, to give Attestation of the Catholick Faith; if it should be true, it should be a hazard to make a plain civil war.

My Lady your Wife came this night hither to *Windsor*, whom I have warned to write to you by this bearer.

Septem. 3. 1567.

Yours assuredly,
W. Cecil.

To the Right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majesties Ambassador, Resident in* France.

SIR,

YOu may perceive by the Queens letter, how this noble man is partly of his own minde, partly by perswasion stayed; and surely, if either the *French* King or the Queen should appear to make any force against them of *Scotland*, for the Queens cause, we finde it, credibly, that it were the next way to make an end of her; and for that cause her Majesty is loth to take that way, for avoiding of slanders that might grow thereby.

I had provided a young man for you, which could have served very well for writing and speaking of *French* and *English*; but I durst not allow him to serve you in your negotiations, although I know no thing in him to the contrary; but hearing that you have men that can both speak and write *French*, and perceiving by the superscription of your letters, that you have one who writeth a good Secretary hand, I have thought fit to forbear to deal further with the said party.

I thank you for your offer to send me any Charts that I should name; and if you would send me a note of the names of the Charts that are

though-

thought neweſt, and of the Author of their ſetting forth, and the places where they be printed, I may chance to trouble you with craving of ſome.

I would be glad to have from you a note of the names of the chiefeſt Nobility of *France*, and with whom they be married; adding thereto any other thing that may belong to the knowledge of their Lineage and Degrees, as you ſhall think meet: And ſo for this time I end.

Windſor, 27, *Sept.* 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*, W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

After my very hearty Commendations, with my like thanks for all your courteous letters to me, and ſpecially for the friendly truſt which I ſee you put in me, to the due anſwering whereof you ſhall never finde me wanting.

My Lady, your good Wife, can ſufficiently report to you all things from hence, ſo as I need write nothing preſently, but my hearty commendations.

And where it ſeemeth you think ſome hardneſs, in not allowance of your expences, expreſſed in ſundry your Bills; ſurely it is not lack of my good will that ſtayeth me, but power; for truly I never ſubſcribed ſo many extraordinary Bills for any, as I have done for you; and, as I underſtand by your ſervant *Cartwright*, I have ſubſcribed more in ſome of them then will be as yet paid. Generally, I will ſubſcribe all charges reaſonable for carriage of Letters; but concerning entertainment of men to continue at the Court, or for rewards, given extraordinarily, I never did, nor could allow them; and yet I wiſh them paid, being laid out in the ſervice of her Majeſty. And, in this manner, I heartily pray you to interpret my good will to the beſt; for ſurely if you were either my Brother or Son, I have no more power to ſhew you and yours good will, then I do.

The Duke of *Chaſtilherant* is at *Deip*, and meaneth within theſe ten days to be here, as his ſervants report; I think he ſhall not be able to annoy the *Lowth*, as he and his, I ſee, do deſire.

Bothwell is not yet taken, to our knowledge, though it be ſaid he ſhould be

ſhould be taken on the Seas, by a Ship of *Breme*: And ſo I end, as I began.

Windſor, 2. Octob. 1567. *Yours, as your own,*
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

YOur ſervant *Jenny* arrived here yeſter-day, with your Letters of the firſt day of *September*; by which the Queen was greatly ſatisfied, for that we had received divers brutes of the troubles of *France*, whereunto we know not what credit to give; and now conſidering the Ice is thus broken, you muſt think we ſhall daily be moleſted with uncertain reports.

The Queens Majeſty advertiſed the *French* Ambaſſador, and Monſieur *de Paſquiers*, of as much as ſhe heard from you, who were not a little troubled before, by reaſon of ſtrangers news ſpread abroad, and more dangerous; for otherwiſe they had heard no manner of thing of credit out of *France*, although of late time they had ſent three ſeveral Meſſengers; ſo as I do gueſs that the paſſages be ſtopped to them, and I wiſh they be not alſo to you too.

I finde her Majeſty diſpoſed, upon the next hearing from thence, to ſend ſome ſpecial Gentlemen thither; before which time, her Majeſty being moved by me according to your deſire, yet will not agree to ſend to you any Currier.

My Lady, your Wife, was ready to depart towards you upon Wedneſday laſt, and would not be ſtayed from her journey by any perſwaſion; what ſhe will do now upon your ſervants coming, I know not; but, in my opinion, ſhe ſhall do well to forbear the venture.

This Letter which I do write, I do ſend by your Footman, wherein I dare, as the time is, write nothing but that which may be ſeen of all ſorts.

That which you wrote of late to me touching *Jenny* your ſervant, I aſſure you ought not to be imputed to him, but to ſuch in *Scotland*, to whom being uttered for their good, they could not uſe it as was meet.

We have nothing in *Scotland*, but all things therein be quiet ſince the laſt of *September*, at which time the Caſtle of *Dunbar* was rendred to the Earl of *Murray*; and one name the Lord *Wawghton*, follower of the Earl *Bothwell*, which kept the Caſtle as long as he could, was adjudged

to

to pay for the charges of them which beſieged it; and the charge of the Carriage of the Ordnance back to *Edenburgh*, a new kind of puniſhment, ſufficient enough for ſuch a beggar. And ſo wiſhing that we may hear often from you; I end with this alſo, that it ſhall behove you, to take good heed whoſe reports you credit in this variety.

9. *Oct.* 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*, W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

I Heartily thank you for your gentle letters ſent to me by your two laſt Meſſengers, *William Wade*, and *Crips*; both which perſons come to me, being at *London*, becauſe it was Term time, where I am for the more part, ſaving Sundays and Holidays; by which occaſion, I have at both times ſent your letters to the Queens Majeſty, ſo as I have not had the commodity to ſee your advertiſements; nevertheleſs, you ſhall do well to continue your accuſtomed manner of advertiſing her Majeſtie as fully as you can; for in theſe troubleſome times, the accidents being ſo diverſly reported as they are, it is meet that her Majeſty ſhould be largely advertiſed; and becauſe it may be that your letters may come in this Term time whiles I am at *London*; I pray let me have ſome repetition of your adviſes in ſuch letters as you ſhall write to me. This bearer, your ſervant *Crips*, can make full report to you of all matters here.

Her Majeſtie much miſlikes of the Prince of *Conde* and *Thadnur*, Lords of *France*.

The Lords of the Council do all they can to cover the ſame.

My Lady your Wife alſo hath been very careful to have him return to you, and would have ſome other of more weight; but the Queens Majeſtie forbeareth to ſend any, becauſe of the uncertainty of the time ℍℍ *Dover* A 1 ℳ in miſſiking o :t € and of F wherein all is done that can be by B, to cover the ſame, and as I think the principal is for that A is 42 91 11 ☾ Π, and doubtful of giving ϯλ·ɔωλ25. 5λ ſubjects; nevertheleſs, you ſhall do well as occaſion ſhall ſerve 5λ ♣Ǝ € n ⅋ ϑ 5: :ϫ For this we here well perceive that ʌ77ѵ ϑ is :t ⅃⅃Π115 we look daily to hear a certainty of the ℳW⁺R, howſoever, percaſe, they there mean to let it.

Her Majeſty being a Prince her ſelf is doubtful to give comfort to ſubjects.

Our Ambaſſador to comfort them, nevertheleſs, as occaſion ſerves.

Expectation of the Queens marrying with the Ar. bduke *Charles*

In *Scotland* all is quiet, the Queen continueth in *Lough-Levin*, in very good health; and the Earle of *Murray* ruleth quietly as Regent; and ſo I end,

In *Scotland* all quiet, the *Scotiſh* Queen ſtill in *Loughlevin* and in health.

Murray ruleth quietly as Regent.

Hampton Court, 3. *Nov.* 1567 *Yours aſſuredly as your own*,
To the Right Honorable, Sir Hen. Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France. W. Cecil.

SIR,

BEfore Mr. *Bridges* came, who arrived here on Saturday laſt, with your letters dated the 16. We were much troubled with variety of reports, of the encounter betwixt the Conſtable and the Prince; and by him we are well ſatisfied to hear that we think to be truth, although otherwiſe men report on the other ſide.

Your ſervant *Crips* was ſent hence, and, as I hear, was ſtayed for lack of winde to paſs, ſix or ſeven days at *Rye*; but ſeeing Mr. *Bridges* met him ſo neer *Paris*, I think he came in ſafety to you. And now, for your further ſatisfaction, I ſend this Bearer Mr. *Jenny*, whom truly I think honeſt and careful, and in the matter imputed unto him, I take him to be cleer.

Mr. *Bridges* ſhews himſelf towards you very friendly, and, in his reports, very wiſe and diſcreet; ſurely I do like him well.

The oftner you can ſend, the better it is, in this buſie time.

The *French* Ambaſſador perſwadeth us, that all our Merchants at *Rohan* are by his means at good liberty to uſe their Trade; which if they be, I know the thanks belong to you.

I wiſh to have a Callender of them which are with the Prince, and alſo to ſee the Edicts that have lately paſſed from the King againſt them.

Yours aſſuredly, to command,

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France. W. Cecil.

AFter my very hearty commendations, my Lady, your Bedfellow, having not heard from you this good while, hath thought good to ſend over one of hers purpoſely to ſee you, and to bring her word again from you; by whom I would not fail to write theſe few words unto you; not having any thing to write at this time, but of the proſperous ſtate of all things on this ſide. The laſt letters from you hither were by your ſervant *Henry Crips*, who was diſpatched home again towards you the fourth of this moneth; the want whereof is not imputed to be in you, for lack of diligence and good will to write, but partly to the dangerous time, and hard means to ſend when you would, and partly, for lack of knowledge of the doings of the contrary part, which in ſuch a time are not eaſily known; but, as you may, you ſhall do well to advertiſe how things paſs there, at the full.

The *French* Ambaſſador was with the Queens Majeſty on Wedneſday

the 12. of this preſent, who had no great news to impart to her Majeſty, but came onely, as he ſaid, to ſee her Majeſty. His laſt letters out of *France*, he ſaid, were of the 27. of *October*; In talk with me he told me, that by his letters he underſtood, that the King had ſent for you at the time of the ſending away of his diſpatch, whereby he judged that you might have occaſion to write hither ſhortly; and that your Meſſenger was, in likelihood, on the way hitherwards; ſo as if he be not hindred by the way, your letters are looked for very ſhortly; or for lack of his coming, it will be, indeed, thought that he is ſtayed; your next advertiſement will ſhew it, which is daily looked for: And thus I wiſh you, in this dangererous time, all ſafety and health.

From the Court at Hampton-Court, 15. *Nov.* 1567. *Your very aſſured loving friend,* W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

YOu muſt think, that ſeeing all the parts of Chriſtendom are intentive to hear of the maters of *France*; we cannot be careleſs, to whom the ſame belongeth next of all, whatſoever the end thereof ſhall be.

Your laſt letters brought hither came with good ſpeed; being dated the 28. of *December*, they came the fourth of this *January*. Of the news therein contained, mentioning the encounter betwixt *Mountgomery* and the Kings Vantguard, about the 23. of *December*. I had letters dated in *Paris* the 20. which did expreſs the ſame more particularly, but I dare not credit them.

Your good advice given to her Majeſty in the ſaid letter, is well to be commended. Of the ſtate of our things here, there is no new thing to write; all things, thanked be God, are quiet.

In *Scotland* they have ended their Parliament; wherein, as I hear, they have Enacted the Coronation of the King, the Authority of the Regent to be good, and have noted the Queen to be privy to the murther of her husband.

My Lady, your wife, hath been a little ſick, but is now well recovered, and hath inſtantly required me to ſend away this bearer, becauſe ſhe had writings to ſend you; otherwiſe I would have had him ſtayed two days to have heard ſome more news from thence.

I thank you for the Articles which you laſt ſent me; but lacking the

Articles of the other ſide, I could not well underſtand thoſe which you ſent me: And ſo I end,

Weſtm. 8. *Jan.* 1567. *Yours aſſuredly to uſe or command,*
To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the* W. Cecil.
Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador Reſident in France.

SIR,

IT is to us here thought very long ſince we heard from you, your laſt being of the fourth of this moneth, ſent by young *Cornwallis*, ſpecially becauſe we are troubled with ſuch diverſity of reports, that what may be taken for truth, is uncertain. Beſide this, I cannot but let you underſtand, that the Lords of the Council are deſirous to hear more largely and particularly how things do paſs; wherein they ſeem to require ſuch a dilligence as Sir *Tho. Smith* was wont to uſe, who ſought to underſtand, and ſo continually did write what was done, almoſt every other day, making, as it were, a Journal or a *Diarium*. But, in my opinion, I have ſhewed them that it is not ſo eaſie for you to do it in this time, conſidering the Armies and their accidents are far from *Paris*, and as I think, very great heed given, that no advertiſements ſhould be given you, but ſuch as you ſhould not think worthy of writing: Nevertheleſs, for their contentations, I wiſh you would write of as many things as you can, whereby they ſhall both be content; and what they hear from other places of the ſame things, they ſhall better diſcern what to think true.

|13| ☽ ☉ ☿ ♂ ♃ ♄ ☊ ☌ 5. m. 3. to the diſadvantage of R. All things here are in quietneſs, I think Maſter Vice-Chamberlain ſhall be Deputy of *Ireland*, for that Sir *H. Sydney* is ſore vexed with the Stone in the Bladder; and ſo I take my leave, thanking you for the offer you have made me to provide for me certain Charts, of the which I am bold to name nine, as I have noted them in the paper included.

26. *January*, 1567. *Yours aſſured,*
To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the* W. Cecil.
Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in France.

SIR,

AFter my hearty commendations, the Queens Majeſty, and my Lords of her Council, have been reaſonably well ſatisfied of late by your two diſpatches, wherein you have largely and well written, the laſt being of the 29. ſent hither by the means of *Glover* of *Rohan*; the other of the 23. brought hither by this bearer your ſervant, before the coming where-

of,

of, we had plenty of uncertain news brought hither, by the means of the paſſages, ſometimes from *Diep*, ſometime from *Bulloigne*; but comparing them with yours, we make them as refuſe, and yours as clean metal. And truely I finde that to be true which you write, that you ſee good cauſe to forbear writing of every thing there, finding by experience that the greater part of reports brought thither proved not the trueſt. I am glad there is no occaſion here to requite you with any news, for God bleſſeth us with continuance in our accuſtomed quietneſs, for the which, I wiſh, we might but yield half the thanks.

The Queens Majeſty is in good health, and was purpoſed of late to have gone abroad for her Paſtime, as ſhe did this time twelve moneths, but the foulneſs of the weather hath letted it.

There were certain *Scots*, which newly returned into *Ireland*, about *November* laſt, but they found themſelves diſappointed of ſuch aide as they looked for, and ſo are gone, and ſcared, whereby the Realm remaineth quiet.

The Earl of *Deſmond*, and his brother Sir *John*, be here in the Tower, chargeable rather with diſorders for private quarrels then for any untruth; whereupon ſome think, that whilſt they remain here, good order may be better ſtabliſhed there.

In *Scotland* things are quietly Governed by the Regent, who doth acquit himſelf very honorably, to the advancement of Religion and Juſtice, without reſpect of perſons.

My Lord of *Suſſex*, by his laſt letters of the 27. of *January*, looked for his reſolute anſwer in ſuch ſort at that time, as he hoped to be at *Antwerp*, before the end of this moneth. What his anſwer is like to be, I aſſure you on my Faith, neither do I know, nor can likely conjecture.

I perceive by ſome of your letters of late, that you were ſomewhat troubled with light reports of news from hence, and therein you thought it ſtrange that you could not hear thereof from me. You may be ſure that in ſuch a caſe I would have given you ſome knowledge, if any thing had hapned.

More as yet I have not at this preſent, but heartily to thank you for the young horſe you have beſtowed upon me; wherein you ſee my overmuch boldneſs of your friendſhip, as in many other things; and ſo I heartily take my leave: I wiſh to have a Bill of the names of the principal perſons, with the place.

Weſtm. 12. *Feb.* 1567. *Yours aſſured,*
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

SIR,

YOur last letters be dated the 10. of *Feburary*, by which they I perceive you did, two days before, make earnest suit on the behalf of the poor men at *Marseiles*, wherein surely you did very charitably; besides that, it toucheth the Queens Majesty, in honor, to have them deliveed; and so her Majesty alloweth your doings therein, and therefore you may do well to continue it.

I doubt the former answer will be renewed, that is, to have the interest of *D'Estrill* fully remitted, which belongeth properly to some of the Queens Subjects, who have spent a great deal of money in the pursuit thereof, by attendance onely for that purpose upon this Court, more then two or three years, which of my own knowledge I understand to be true; insomuch as they have been forced to be relieved out of prison, for very debt grown by this their suite.

Of late they of *Rye* took certain Fishers of *Diepe*, which had come upon our shoar in the night, and Fished with sundry Netts of unlawful size, such as are both by the Ordinances of *France* and *England*, on both sides, condemned; and being kept in Ward by them of *Rye*, the Ambassador made earnest suite for them; but after the Nets were brought up, and some of the parties also, and plainly proved before them, that they were far unlawful; It was agreed by my Lord Steward and the Officers of the houshold, here, in the favor of them, That they should be released, and have their Nets, with faithful promise, never to use the same again upon our Coast: Hereof it may be you shall hear; but I assure you, considering the unreasonableness of their Nets, I think they had too much favor, in that the Nets were not burned.

The Queens Majesty, this morning, willed me to write unto you, that you should obtain licence of the *French* King, to send for, by safe conduct, your Nephew *Champernoune*, which is with the Count *Mountgomery*, whom his father thought to have remained in *Normandy* with the Countess; but now since dinner, I perceive by Sir *Arthur Champernoune*, he would be lo h to seem to send for him; and therefore you may do herein as Sir *Arthur Champernoune* shall by his letter sent unto you, at this time, move you; for indeed I think the Count *Mountgomery* would be very loth to part with him, for opinion sake. The Lord of *Arbroth* came lately out of *Scotland* this way, and spake with the Queens Majesty, pretending to go into *France* to sollicite aide for the delivery of the Queen of *Scots*; he came out of *Scotland* without licence or knowledge of the Regent there xx← ↑ 30—0519 21157 20 Ш L this way of late, but I trust shortly to hear from HH ↔ ♄ of such things as he carryed with him.

him. Your admonition of O was well allowed of, but about that matter we are otherwiſe occupied, if things may fall out as are meant, whereof I cannot write any more, becauſe as yet the Iron is not in the Forge.

I thank you for the Edicts publiſhed and printed in *Paris*, which you ſent me, praying you that you will hereafter continue, in the ſame mauner, to ſend me any thing that is there publiſhed.

Having not heard of any thing from you ſince the 9. of this moneth, (this being the 26) I am in ſome perplexity what to think of matters there; for howſoever rumors and news be brought from the Sea coaſt; neither do I believe any for the truth, but ſuch as are confirmed by you; And hereby you may perceive that the oftner you write, the more pleaſure you do me.

Weſt. 26. Feb. 1567. *Tours aſſuredly,*
W. Cecil.

Poſtſcript.

I hear that *Glover* of *Rohan* is very ill uſed. I wiſh you could help him, as you ſhall underſtand his grief.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

YOur laſt letters that have come to my hands, were of the 12. of *Feb.* brought hither by one *Bogg*, of the *French* Kings Guard, who having tarryed, as he ſaid, fourteen days at *Diep* for lack of paſſage, by that means came very ſlowly hither; and therefore you muſt think we be here much troubled for lack of certain advertiſements from you, whilſt we hear from other parts reports ſo diverſly: Nevertheleſs, I do think and affirm, that there be ſome letters diſpatched from you ſince the date aforeſaid. Thoſe which you wrote laſt to the Queens Highneſs, were well and amply written; and ſo I wiſh you ſhould do with the reſt hereafter.

You may perceive by the Queens Majeſties letter, which I ſend at this time, her ſincere meaning, which if it be well taken, it is well beſtowed; and yet I think ſhe ſhould not finde the like courteſie and good meaning, if ſhe had need of the like, from the which I pray God long keep her.

Her Majeſty is well diſpoſed to ſend ſome thither, if ſhe thought ſhe might do good towards the peace, againſt which I think, plainly, all Ambaſſadors but your ſelf are vehemently diſpoſed; and ſo it appeareth by the

the fruits of their Councils; and if you told the Queen mother, ſo as of your own head, as a thing you hear ſpread abroad in the world, I th ink you might do well and ſpeak truely; for as for the Popes Miniſters, their profeſſion is to prefer the State of their corrupted Church before the Weal of any Kingdom in the earth; and whatſoever come of any thing they look onely to the continuance of their own ambitious ruling; and as for other Miniſters of Princes, or for men of War; it is a truth infallible, the more they do impoveriſh that Monarchy of *France*, the better they think their own eſtates; and if the Queen-mother and other good Councellors of the King, do not underſtand this, you may ſay, if you can in good terms, *Oculos habent & non vident.*

Our matters here in *England* remain as hitherto they have long done, by the goodneſs of God, in great quietneſs.

This day I had letters from my Lord of *Suſſex*, of the firſt of this moneth, from *Antwerp*, who, I perceive, meaneth to paſs over the Seas hitherwards this night, ſo as, I think, he will be here by Munday, what he bringeth, I know not at all.

Brederood is dead at *Collen*; the Count of *Berry*, eldeſt ſon to the Prince of *Orange*, is in *Zealand*, ready to be carryed into *Spain*; it is doubted that the Counts of *Egmond* and *Horne* ſhall follow.

March, 6. 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*, W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

YOu have done very well, in this doubtful time, to write ſo often hither as you have done, for that the Queens Majeſty hath been in great expectation, what to judge to be the truth in the middeſt of ſo many divers advertiſements; for howſoever we be from other places advertiſed, we meaſure the ſame even by yours.

The laſt letters which you ſent, were dated the 30. of *March*, which came hither yeſterday, being the 7. And conſidering the laſt accident hapned the 29. by a treachery to have ſupplanted the good meaning of the peace, I am in opinion that the Prince and his ſhould have a reaſonable occaſion offered unto them to mend their bargain, in certain points tending to their own ſurety, which ſurely if they do not better foreſee, me thinks, their danger wil not be far off; I pray you to continue your vigilancy in exploring of ſ t z d w 2 V. wherein you may do very well to pro-

procure that the R may be induced to withſtand that enterprize, as being a matter very prejudicial to the whole ✠ ✓ 73 A o *London* 2 ⊓ ○ ○ ○ ⊥ ⊼ ⊱ ⅄ *Paris*, &c.

Here hath been of good long time, one *Emmanuel Tremelius*, who heretofore, in King *Edwards* time, read the *Hebrew* Lecture in *Cambridge*; and hath now been ſent hither by the Count *Palatine* the Elector, to inform the Queens Majeſty of the proceedings of the ſaid Elector, in ſending his Son into *France*, without intention to offend the King and the Realm, or to aſſiſt the Prince of *Conde* in any thing; but onely in the defence of the common cauſe of Religion, who now upon the ending of theſe cauſes in *France* will depart hence; and truely, in my opinion, the ſaid Elector hath ſhewed himſelf to be a Prince of great honor in this Action.

The Prince of *Orange*, hath alſo ſent hither a ſpecial Gentleman, to declare unto her Majeſty his innocency in ſuch cauſes as are objected againſt him, touching any part of his duty towards the King of *Spain*: And further, alſo, to ſhew good cauſe why he doth not return into the Low Countries, to appear before the Duke of *Alva*, whom he noteth to be a Judge not competent, becauſe he hath already notoriouſly broken the Laws and ancient priviledges of the ſame Countries.

Out of *Scotland*, I hear, that the *Hambletons* continue in that Faction againſt the Regent; and I believe they be nouriſhed out of *France*, by means of the Abbot of *Arbroth*, who lately came thorough this way.

Of my Lady, your wifes, dangerous ſickneſs (out of the which ſhe was newly eſcaping, when your Son arrived here) I doubt not but you are well advertiſed; ſo as I need not to write any other thing, but onely to rejoyce, with you, that ſhe is ſo well amended.

You ſee, by my writing, that this Country, thanked be God, is as barren of news, as that of *France* is plenteous.

Sir *Ambroſe Cave* is departed this life, and as yet it is not known who ſhall ſucceed him; ſome name Mr Vice-Chamberlaine, ſome Sir *Henry Sydney*, ſome Sir *Ralph Sadler*, ſome Sir *Nic. Throckmorton*; her Majeſty can make no ill choice of any of theſe: And ſo truſting ere this letter can come to your hands, I ſhall receive ſome of yours, containing the reſolution of this long lingring peace.

April, 8. 1568.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

SIR,

THis evening, *Harcourte* arrived here with your letters, which were long looked for, and be now welcome; for your satisfaction, by this bearer, you shall understand of the recovery of my Lady your Wife.

The Gentleman that lately came hither, named Monsieur *de Beamont*, one of the late disorder of *France*, passeth into *Scotland*, which is not much to be liked.

The book which you sent, of the peace, hath not printed in it certain Articles, by way of request, made to the King by the Commissaries on the Princes part; what answers Marginal of the King. I fear much the surety of the Prince and his Colleagues.

I hear by him that came last, now, of strange news at *Diep*, of the King and Prince of *Spain*; I pray you, if there be any of moment, send us word.

Here is an Ambassador arrived from *Portugal*, for to brawle about Merchants and Maritime matters: For haste, I can write no more.

April, 14. 1568. *Yours assuredly*,
W. Cecil.

Postscript.

I send you the beginning of the Parliament of *Scotland*; when I have more you shall have more sent you.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majesties Ambassador, Resident in* France.

SIR,

YOur last letters brought hither, are of the 18. of *April*, which came hither the 29. of the same moneth, by which I looked to have heard where the Prince and the Admiral was, and what they did; and how they intended to prosecute the enjoying of the peace, for here we are troubled with very many fond tales; and I never make good resolution of doubts without your advertisment; and therefore, I pray, write from time to time, what is done on both parts: You shall do well to give good respect to the [illegible] pretending to [illegible] wherein surely may be seen the very intent of the practicers.

I heartily thank you, Sir, for your plentiful present of so many Countries, as you lately sent by *Harcourte*, who indeed did in former times serve me, and with my good favor departed from me; but if he may serve you, I am glad, for I never knew but good honesty by him: [illegible] [illegible] is not a little afraid of these [illegible] G and H.

We

We hear newly of great attempts towards *Flanders*; and ſo having nothing more to write, I am by buſineſs forced to end, being aſſured, that both by your Son, and otherwiſe, you are advertiſed of all our ſeen matters here. From *Greenwich* the firſt of *May*, which is become a very cold day, 1568.

Yours aſſured at all times,
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

BY the Queens Majeſties letter you may perceive what is her pleaſure at this time; *Beaton* is paſſing thither, ſo as I think he will be at the Court before the coming of this bearer: In your ſpeaking with the King, you may not by your ſpeech, ſeem to utter that you know of *Beatons* coming for aid there, upon advertiſement given from hence; for he being adviſed not to ſeek aid there, and promiſed aid here, for his Miſtris, hath in words allowed thereof; and ſaith, that he will forbear to require aide from thence, and will onely but notifie the Queens liberty. But yet, ſurely I am not bound to believe him; but he hath required us here to ſay nothing of that which he, at his firſt coming, told us, That the Queen his Miſtris ſent him to *France*, to require aide of one thouſand Harquebuſiers, and a ſum of money, with ſome Ordnance.

Wherefore, except you ſhall learn there that he demandeth aid, you ſhall not ſpeak thereof; but if he do, then ſhall ye do well to make mention thereof to the King.

I hear daily of the evil obſervation of the laſt peace towards the Proteſtants.

In *Flanders* and the Low Countries, I ſee things will proſper too well in hurt of the Religion; and onely for lack that the Prince of *Orange* his party hath of money.

Greenwich, 16. *of May*, 1568.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

Poſtſcript.

And I think Mr. Vice-Chamberlaine ſhall be Controller, Mr. *Sydny* Treaſurer, Mr. *Throckmorton* Vice-Chamberlain, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* Chancellor of the Duchy.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

AFter our very hearty commendations, we being made privy to ſuch Letters and Meſſage as you lately ſent by this bearer your Secretary, to me Sir *William Cecil*, have well conſidered the ſame, and do well allow of the good ⁊ 3 ⁊ ⁊ ⁊

accompany the ③ ſo are there men of that Nation, but they do reſort to the ⑭ wherefore it is neceſſary that you ſpeak again with the party that gave you this intelligence; and if the matter be of truth, and diſguiſing to ſome other purpoſe, he can as well obtain you the knowledge of the party in certainty, as this to give a gueſs at him; for as he hath his intelligence of the matter which he uttered to you (if it be true) ſo may he attain to a more perfect knowledge; and if the matter be true, and ſhall be diſcovered by his means, you may promiſe him reward of the Queens Majeſty, as of a Prince of honor, and ſo indeed ſhall he have it; on the other ſide, if the matter be not true, but a device, ſurely he and they that do participate with him are much too blame; wherefore, Sir, I earneſtly require you to uſe all the ſpeed you can herein, and advertiſe as plentifully as you can, to the ſatisfaction of her Majeſty; For though her Highneſs words have comfort, yet it cannot be but ſhe ſhall reſt perplexed untill more certainty be had.

Likewiſe her Majeſty would have you cauſe diligent inquiſition to be made of the other matter concerning the vi g prepared by :t 4L 45 11 ⅂ m L 11 σ ⅃ ⊼ T 2 ⅃ Π where and when, and to what end the prepation ſhall be.

We marvail that you write nothing at this time of the Prince of *Conde*, &c. For the *French* Ambaſſador reporteth that he ſhall come to the King to *Gallian*, the Cardinal *Burbons* houſe; and that the Cardinal of *Lorrein* ſhall depart from the Court, which to me is unlikely for truth.

The *Scotiſh* Queen is ordered to remove from *Carlile*, to a Caſtle of the Lord *Scroops* in the edge of *York-ſhire* next *Cumberland* called *Bolton*; for where ſhe was appointed to come to *Tutbury*; the Queens Majeſty, finding her great miſliking therein, hath forborn the ſame.

Her deſires are theſe, in ſundry degrees: Firſt, to come to the Queens Majeſties perſon, and to have preſent aid to be reſtored: Secondly, if that cannot be, to have licence to paſs into *France*; and to theſe it hath been anſwered, untill her cauſe may appear more probable for her innocency, the Queens Majeſty cannot with honor receive her perſonally; but if the Queen will by any manner of means, honorable, let her cauſe appear to be void of the horrible crime imputed to her for the murthering of her husband; ſhe ſhall be aided, and uſed with all honor; whereunto ſhe will give no reſolute anſwer, other then that, if ſhe may come perſonally to the Queens Majeſty, then ſhe will let it appear how ſhe ſtandeth in the cauſe: Hereupon we ſtand at a brawl; ſhe much offended that ſhe hath not her requeſts, and we much troubled with the difficulties, finding neither her continuance here good, nor her depart-

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ing hence quiet for us. We here ſpeak of one *La Mote* that ſhould come hither.

From Havering, *the* 13. *of* July, *in haſte.*

Yours aſſured, W. Cecil.

Poſtſcript.

And for ✠ and *x*, I pray you put them in comfort, that if extremity ſhould happen, they muſt not be left; for it is ſo univerſal a cauſe as none of the Religion can ſeparate themſelves one from another; we muſt all pray together, and ſtand faſt together; and further, *&c.*

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

AFter my hearty commendations, though here be no great cauſe of preſent diſpatch to you; yet for the return of this bearer your ſervant *Darrington*, having been long here; and alſo to let you underſtand of the Queens Majeſty proceedings with the Queen of *Scots* ſince her being in this Realm, and ſince my laſt letters to you, I have taken this occaſion to return him to you.

The Queen of *Scots* having long laboured the Queens Majeſty, both by Meſſages and Letters, to have aid of her Majeſty againſt the Lords of *Scotland*, and by force to reſtore her to her Realm; her Majeſty could not finde it meet in honor ſo to do, but rather to ſeek all other good means to compaſs it with quiet and honor; wherein much travailing hath been ſpent. Finally, the Queen of *Scots* hath agreed that her matter ſhall be heard in this Realm, before ſome good perſonages, to be deputed by the Queens Majeſty, to meet with ſome of the Lords of *Scotland*, about *New-Caſtle*, or *Durham*, or neer this way, as ſhall be found fit; and ſo to be reported to her Majeſty. This way being now reſolved upon, and accepted of all parts, the Earl of *Murray* hath offered to come himſelf in perſon (if her Majeſty finde it good) accompanyed with others of meet condition, to any place, and at any time that her Majeſty will appoint; and becauſe the Lord *Herreys*, having long been here for the Queen of *Scots*, and lately gone to her, hath on his Miſtriſſes behalf required that ſpeed might be uſed in this matter; the Queens Majeſty hath by her ſpecial letters required the Earle of *Murray*, that all expedition may be made, either for his own, or elſe that ſome others may come choſen, to be perſons of wiſdom and dexterity, and void of all particular paſſion in ſuch a cauſe as this is; and upon his anſwer of the perſons that ſhall be thus appointed there, the

Queens

Queens Majeſty will, with all ſpeed, ſend like fit perſonages from hence to meet with them; and in the mean time where they the Lords of *Scotland* had ſummoned a Parliament of their three Eſtates, to aſſemble in this next *Auguſt*; her Majeſty hath required them to ſuſpend the holding of the Parliament, untill the iſſue of this matter to be heard by her Majeſty, may come to ſome end. In this meeting the Queens Majeſty doth not mean to charge the Queen of *Scots*, but will hear what the Lords can alleadge for themſelves, to defend all their doings and proceedings, for impriſoning and depoſing their Queen, and other matters publiſhed by them; and thereof to cauſe report to be made to her to be anſwered; and likewiſe to carry ſuch matters as are to come from her, againſt them; and upon hearing of all parts, as matters ſhall in truth fall out, ſo doth her Majeſty mean to deal further therein, as honor will lead and move her to do.

Whilſt theſe things have been in doing, the Queens Majeſty hath been advertiſed, though not from the Queen of *Scots*, that ſhe hath deputed the whole Government of her Realm of *Scotland* to the Duke of *Chaſtilherault*, thereby both to make a party (as may be ſuppoſed) betwixt him and the Earl of *Murray*; and alſo to be the earneſter to procure Forreign aid for his maintenance, whereof her Majeſty is informed there is a great appearance, having obtained of the *French* King good numbers of Harquebuziers and others, ready to embarque for *Scotland*; which being true, her Majeſty hath good cauſe to let the ſaid King underſtand, that it is againſt his promiſe, as your ſelf knoweth beſt. And ſo hath alſo the ſaid Queen aſſured her Majeſty, that ſhe will not procure any Strangers to come into *Scotland* for her uſe, untill it may appear what will enſue of this meeting; But if the contrary fall out, either by her own means, or by the procuring of the ſaid Duke of *Chaſtilherault* in *France*; the Queens Majeſty will not onely forbear to deal any further for the benefit of the Queen of *Scots*, as hitherto her Highneſs hath done with all honor and ſincerity, having had as great care of her cauſe, as ſhe her ſelf could have; but ſhall be juſtly moved to do otherwiſe then the ſaid Queen or her friends abroad would wiſh. Thus much I thought good to impart unto you of theſe matters, to the end that if you (being there) finde indeed, that the ſaid Duke doth obtain any ſuch aide there to be ſent into *Scotland*, you may take occaſion to deal therein with the King, or with ſuch as you know fitteſt, for the ſtay thereof.

The Queen is now removed lately from *Carlile* to *Bolton* Caſtle, a houſe of the Lord *Scroops*, about 30. miles within the land, fitter in all reſpects for her to lye at then *Carlile*, being a Town for Frontier and War; the Queens Majeſty doth cauſe her to be very well and honorably uſed

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and accompanied. And thus having no other preſent matter to write unto you, I thought good herewith to return your ſervant to you, wiſhing you right heartily well to do. From the Court at *Endfield*, the 25. of *July*, 1568.

After the end of this letter, your ſervant *Wall* arrived here with your letters to the Lord Steward, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and to me, for anſwer to the letter which we wrote to you; which letter, after I had cauſed to be deciphered, I ſent to the Court; to them my ſelf being at my houſe near *Waltham*, not well at eaſe, nor in caſe to go to Court.

I long much to hear anſwer of letters ſent by your Lackque, touching the matter of an *Italian*, whereof I doubt the Queens Majeſty is more careful to hear then ſhe doth here expreſs; at this time, I have received a letter from an *Italian* there with you, who ſubſcribed his name, who ſeemeth very importune to have anſwer, becauſe he may be entertained; and if he be the party of whom you writ about a moneth paſt, ſurely, as I did advertiſe you, the Queens Majeſty will in no wiſe hear of any ſuch offers, which ſhe thinketh are but chargeable, without fruit, although I had earneſtly moved her Majeſty to have adventured ſome ſmall piece of money upon ſuch a man; therefore I ſee no remedy but to pay him as well as may be with goods words. And thus I wiſh you better to fare, then I did at the writing here.

Your aſſured loving friend,

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador Reſident in* France. W. Cecil.

SIR,

BY yours of the 23. of the laſt moneth, for anſwer of mine of the 13. of the ſame, I finde that you have very diligently and circumſpectly travailled in the great dangerous matter, to ſatisfie the Queens Majeſty, whereof you gave before that intelligence; and though I perceive that you can come to no more underſtanding therein, for further ſatisfaction of her Majeſty, yet ſhe is very well ſatisfied with your diligence and care; and ſo hath ſpecially willed me to give you knowledge of her allowance of your doings therein. Methinketh the parties which tell you ſuch pieces of tales, if the whole were true, might as well tell you the whole as ſuch obſcure parts, which if they do not, you might well alleadge them to be but devices to breed unquietneſs and ſuſpition; and as I wrote before unto you, they might be tempted with offer of rewards, that the troth of the matter might be diſcloſed.

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The Queens Majesty, as I am informed (for presently I am not at the Court, by reason of my sickness) meaneth to have the matter between the Queen of *Scots* and her subjects heard in this Realm, and compounded (as I think) with a certain manner of restitution of the Queen, and that limited with certain conditions, which how they shall be afterwards performed, wise men may doubt; the Queen of *Scots* her self, at length, seemeth content to commit the order of this cause to her Majesty; wherein if her Majesty's own interest should not be provided for, the world might think great want in her self, which I trust, she will regard.

I am willed by her Majesty to require you to continue your diligence in inquisition, what preparations are meant or intended in that Country to sent into *Scotland*; and as you shall finde any, to give speedy knowledge thereof, as I know you would do if you were not thus advertised.

There is coming out of *Spain* a new person to be Resident Ambassador here, who is a Commendatory of an Order; in whom I wish no worse conditions, then I have found in this man, for maintenance of amity.

Our whole expectation (as yours there is) resteth upon the event and success of these matters in the Low Countries, which as they shall fall out, so are like to produce consequences to the greater part of Christendom; and therefore, I beseech God, it may please him to direct them to his honor, and quietness (if it may be) of his universal Church here in earth; and so I end, being occasioned to use the hand of another my self, being very unable to write, and fully wearied with inditing thus much: Fare you heartily well, from my house in *Cheston*, the 3. of *August*, 1568.

Sir, This bearer, Mr. *Hudleston*, acknowledgeth himself so much beholden to you, as he is desirous to return thither to spend his time, where he may shew himself thankful to you, and to that end hath requested me to write to you by him; he hath required to be accepted into my service; but I think him worthy of some better Master, and my self am overburthened with numbers, or else I would gladly have accepted him.

Yours assured,
W. Cecil.

SIR,

MY late sickness hath been cause of my rare writing, and I am sorry to hear of your lack of health; which I trust you have ere this time recovered.

Your letters ſent by the *Frenchman* of *Southwark* came one day only before *Cockborne*, who came alſo ſafely with your letters on Saturday laſt; I have made the Queens Majeſty privy to both your letters; and as to the unhappy news of *Flanders*, we had the ſame worſe reported by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador here, then yours did there, who hath made a triumphant ſtory thereof, as far uncredible as any in *Amadis de Gaule*; for in the fighting continually one whole day, there were on *Lodowicks* part ſlain and devoured 8000. and on the other part but eight, ſo every one of them killed ten hundred.

I underſtand, that within theſe three days we ſhall have the report more reaſonable; for I alſo hear that the greater number of the men ſlain were of the Dukes part, which I wiſh to be true ⊹ ℰ ʒ ☋ is in words content to commit ♓ *Dover* ☽ ♄ 2 ♃ † ♐ ſ ∧ A but yet x doth not omit to ſtir new troubles in v.

Touching the ♁ ∧ ш 3 4 ☌ 2 ⅃49 whereof you have often writ, order is taken to deal with ♈ 2 ⊣ m ♅ ∧ ſ ; ∧ *Paris*; and ſurely methinks ſtill ſince the informers will not be known of the particulars in more certainty, that theſe things are intended to bring us into their play; but yet no diligence is to be omitted. I think the Duke of *Norfolk*, my Lord of *Suſſex*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, ſhall be Commiſſioners to treat in the North, betwixt the Queen of *Scots*, and her ſubjects. And ſo I end,

Dunſtable, 10. *Auguſt.* 1568. *Yours aſſuredly,*
To the Right Honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, her Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France. W. Cecil.

SIR,

THe ſufficiency of the bringer hereof is ſuch, as I need not to write any thing to you by him of importance, to whom any thing may be well committed; He can beſt tell you upon what occaſion the Queens Majeſty ſendeth this Meſſage to the *French* King at this time, which becauſe it is long and of great importance, the Queens Majeſty would have you firſt tranſlate it into *French*, and well digeſt it with your ſelf; ſo as you may very perfectly and readily expreſs it in ſuch ſort as it is conceived; And I think, if you would, in the tranſlating thereof, diſtribute it into ſundry members, by way of Articles, you ſhould the better carry it in your minde, making thereby an account with your ſelf of the better delivery thereof; and you ſhall do well, to let ſome ſuch as favor the intention of the Queens Meſſage, to ſee the Copy of the letter, whereby

whereby they may, per-caſe, being called to give advice to the King, further the cauſe, to the benefit of them of the Religion.

This day I received your letters, of the date of the 20. of this moneth by *Glover*, who of late time dwelt in *Roan*, whom I take to be a good honeſt perſon; but of the matter of the Jewels, whereof you wrote, upon his report, I my ſelf know no certainty.

As for the occurrents of *Scotland*, you ſhall underſtand, that where the Queens Majeſty hath determined with the Queen of *Scots*, to hear the whole matter, and (as it ſeemeth) to the advantage of that Queen, ſhe took ſuch comfort thereof, as ſhe made the Earl of *Arguile* Lieutenant in one part, and the Earl of *Huntly* in another; and the Duke of *Chaſtilherault* over all; ſo as they forthwith leavyed Forces, and by Proclamation threatned the Regent, and all his, with fire and ſword, who upon the Queens requeſt had forborn hoſtility, untill the matter might be heard; and upon the 16. day of this moneth, the ſaid Regent beginning a Parliament, which was appointed ſix weeks before, and quietly holding the ſame without any Armies, about the 19. word came to him that the Earl of *Arguile* was come to *Glaſco* with 2000. and the Earl of *Huntley* coming out of the North with a great power to joyn with *Arguile*, and ſo to come to *Sterling*, to ſurpriſe both the place, and the King; upon which occaſion, the Earl of *Murray* brake up the Parliament, and ſent all the power that he had, to ſtay their joyning together; and (as I heard) the Earl of *Huntley* is put to the worſe, and ſo fled home-ward: hereof the Queen of *Scots* maketh great complaint to the Queens Majeſty: you may do well, when you have done your great Meſſage, as you ſee cauſe, you may charge the Queen Mother with the breach of promiſe, if the Duke of *Chaſtilherault* be gone forwards towards *Scotland* with power.

Biſſiter, 27. Aug. 1568. *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecil.

Poſtſcript.

I have boldly received from you ſundry books, and I am bold to pray you to provide for me a book concerning Architecture, intituled according to a paper here included, which I ſaw at Sir *Tho. Smith's*; or if you think there is any better of a late making, of that argument.

To the Right Honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight*,
Her Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in France.

SIR,

YOur Lackquey arrived here on Friday in the afternoon; and because the Bishop of *Reynes* hath not yet his audience, I stay your servant *Wall*, to bring the knowledge of that shall pass.

The Ambassador sent his Nephew *Willcob* to require Audience, and that it might be Ordered to have her Majesties Council present at the Bishops Missado; Her Majesty answered that they forgot themselves, in coming from a King that was but young, to think her not able to conceive an answer without her Council; and although she could use the advice of her Council as was meet; yet she saw no cause why they should thus deal with her being of full years, and governing her Realm in better sort then *France* was; so the audience being demanded on Saturday, was put off untill Tuesday, wherewith I think they are not contented. The Cardinal *Castillon* lyeth at *Shene* [illegible] 370Π0—73: [illegible] 9A *Paris*, the rather to displease [illegible] 8 0 3̄ for *Callis*. I think xxɔ4 [illegible] 23T-03ɔ [illegible] 5. 0—0 9 [illegible] u 9: E[3: 7 [illegible] for E *London* 4 3 8 0 T 2 J demanded.

The Duke of *Norfolke*, &c. are gone to *Yorke*, where the Dyet shall begin the last of this moneth.

It is [illegible] m ς: [illegible] *Callice* e 3: c [illegible] 4 [illegible] 9 0: t [illegible] s Π 2 ς λ *London* [illegible] Π 8 0 N 2 c [illegible] λ 703: [illegible] c [illegible] 9 ϒ 2 [illegible] to the contrary [illegible] shal be there any [illegible] 9: 7: 3 5 9 0-0 *Dover*, &c. The success of the matters for good 0 [illegible] E [illegible] 3: [E u.

Sir, I pray advertise me what you may reasonably think of 3 9 2 [illegible] λ Ω Π [illegible] 5 3 5 [illegible] practices what [illegible] or any like to him.

I thank you for the book you sent me of Architecture; but the Book which I most desired, is made by the same Author, and yet intituled, *Novels per bien bastir, per Phileont de L'orn.* I thank you for your Placarts, and instruments that you sent me by your Lackquey,

Septem. 27. 1568. *Yours assuredly, as your brother,*

W. Cecil.

Postscript.

And is well used by *A* the rather to displease all Papists, I think he hath or shall shortly have such comfort for *E* as *Steward* demanded.

It is not meant if *x* shall be proved guilty of the Murther, to restore her to V. howsoever her friends may brag to the contrary; nor yet shall there

there be any haſte made of her delivery, untill the ſucceſs of the matter of F and F be ſeen: I pray you, Sir, advertiſe me what you may reaſonably think of Sir *Robert Staffords* practices with D or any like him.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

AFter the letters of the Queens Majeſty were cloſed up at *Biſſiter*, her Majeſty ſtayed your Son, that he might carry with him a letter for the Marſhall *Montmorancis* wife, for thanks for favor to my Lord Chamberlains daughter; and for a token which her Majeſty now ſendeth by your Son, being a Ring with a pointed Diamond. I beſeech you cauſe the letter to her to be indorſed as you ſhall think meet: for I know not whether ſhe be intituled Madam, Lady, Ducheſs of *Calſho*, or *Montmorancy*, or otherwiſe. I write this upon the 29. being Sunday in the afternoon in *Rycot*, where the Queens Majeſty is well lodged, to her great contentation, as ſhe hath commanded me to write to you; lacking onely the preſence of your ſelf, whom ſhe wiſheth here untill Thurſday, that ſhe ſhall depart from hence; of which Meſſage I pray you take knowledge, and give her Majeſty thanks, for ſhe bad me to write thus very earneſtly; and ſo fare you well from your own houſe, where alſo I am better lodged then I was in all this Progreſs. We are truly certified by our own Ambaſſador from *Spain*, who is on the way thorough *France* to return, that the Prince is ſuddainly dead; but by what occaſion it is doubtful.

29. *Aug.* 1568. *Yours aſſuredly,*
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

I Have, as I lately ſignified unto you, ſtayed this bearer, *John Wall*, your ſervant, to the time that this Biſhop of *Rhemes* ſhould have his Audience and be anſwered; he was heard on Tueſday, and at his departure was required, briefly to put in writing the ſum of his ſpeech, which he did, as ſhall appear by the Copy herewith ſent unto you: and yet in his ſpeech he touched an offence in the latter end of your Meſſage,

noting

noting the Doctrine of *Rome* to be contrary to Christs; wherein he amplified before the Queens Majesty, that seeing his Master holdeth the Doctrine of *Rome*, therefore your Majesty should repute him no Christian; which speech, he said, was hardly born by the king in an open Audience; whereunto some answer hath been made, as you may see, to salve the matter, by turning the sence, that the Doctrine of *Rome* was contrary to Christs in derogating, *&c.* Onely in this was some difference made, although, indeed, your writing was warranted by the Queens Majesties letter; and therefore no fault in any wise found in your doings.

I do send you, herewith, the copy of the Bishops writing exhibited, and the answer of her Majesty thereto, which being put in *French* was yesterday, before the Ambassador, were admitted to her Majesties presence, read unto them by one of the Clarks of the Council, in the presence of the Council; and afterward they were brought unto her Majesty, who did confirm her former answer, and so they departed without further debate thereof.

It was thought they would have used some speeches concerning the Cardinal *Castillon*, whom they finde very well and courteously used here by the Queens Majesties order; but they have not hitherto spoken a word of him.

At their first being here, on Tuesday, they told the Queens Majesty, that they had newly received letters out of *France*, by which they were given to understand, that *Martignes* pursued *Dandelot*, and overthrew all his force, and made him to flye; which news was onely heard and not credited; insomuch, as the next day following, we heard credibly that *Martignes* had indeed pursued certain followers of *Dandelot*, at the passage of *Leyer*, which *Dandelot* had before safely passed with all his Forces, Footmen and Horsemen; and perceiving that *Martignes* had used some cruelty upon a small number of simple people that followed *Dandelot*, he returned over the water with his Horsemen, and avenged the former injury upon *Martignes*; and from thence went to *Rhemes*; where finding certain of the Presidents or Judges, which had given order to destroy all that could be found of the Religion, he executed their own Law upon some of them, and hanged some of the Judges; which news being brought unto us the day after he had given us the other for a farewell, he was this day welcomed with these; the rather because they touched his own Town of *Reymes*; and I wish them to be true, to cool their heating of lying.

The Cardinal *Castillons* wife is come over, whom I think the Queen means to use very well.

The Duke of *Chastilherault* comes hither to morrow to the Queens Majesty

Majesty, but I think he shall not be permitted to go to the Queen of *Scots* very hastily.

If by the next letters it shall not appear, that you can have *Rowland* delivered, and your letters restored, I perceive the Queens Majesty will be well content that some one of theirs shall be stayed in the like manner: And so I end,

Windsor, 1. Oct. 1568. *Yours assuredly*,
W. Cecil.

Postscript.

I pray send me word whether you thought XX ꝑ ꝺ diot x 3 9 ꝟ 2 λ ⌒ II 25. ξ:ʒ: ⧻ 35. ⊢ 30 λ ꝟ ∠ to be suspected of the matter concerning the 4 λ 9 3 λ ⊔⊔ 9: 3 π 0 *A* or no. ⧻ ξ: By the next, which shall be by my Lady your wise, I will change my Cipher.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight*, *the Queens Majesties Ambassador*, *Resident in* France.

SIR,

THis present, being the 18. your servant came with your letters of the 12. which I longed much for, not having of a great time heard from you.

The Prince of *Orange* passing the and his proceeding cannot be unknown to you; and therefore I leave to write thereof.

The *French* Ambassador promised once to write favorably in this poor mans behalf; but this morning he sent his Nephew to me, declaring that considering he perceived much favor shewed by us to the King his Masters Rebels, he could not, without some misliking, write in favor of our Countrimen; I required of him, whom, in particular, he could name as Rebels, that had favor of us; he would name none; I told him, we accepted the Cardinal *Chastillon* as a Nobleman, and a good faithful subject and Councellor to the King; for that upon pride and inveterate malice done to him by the Cardinal of *Lorrein*, he was by him and his so persecuted, as he could not live in *France* without danger of his life; and I told him we had the more cause to favor him, and all such, because the said Cardinal *Lorrein* was well known to be an open enemy to the Queens Majesty, our Sovereign. So he departed, with no small misliking, and I well contented to utter some round speeches.

The Queens Majesty is resolved to set out certain of our Ships to *Britain* and *Guyen*, to preserve our *Burdeaux* Fleets from depredations; where-

whereupon I think there will be ſome miſliking uttered there to you, But conſidering the frequent Piracies already committed, and the menacing of the Pyrats to our *Burdeaux* Fleet, we can do no other, and ſo you may anſwer.

I think this Ambaſſador will advertiſe many devices of ſuſpitions, of our aiding of the Prince with Money, Shot, and Powder; but the King ſhall never finde her Majeſty to do any thing therein to be reprehended, If in caſe of Merchandize for Salt or Wine, the Princes Miniſters can borrow things of our Merchants; I know not how to remedy ſecret bargains, where Merchandize is in uſe. The Treaty of *York* ſhall ceaſe for a while, for that ſome of the Commiſſioners on either ſide are ſent for hither, to confer with her Majeſty. The Queen of *Scots* caſe appeareth not defenſible by her own In ſo much as they intend another courſe, to make the Duke of *Chaſtilherault* their head, and provide for themſelves.

And ſo having no more at this preſent, I end with my hearty thanks for your kind accepting of my friendly good will that I bear you.

Weſtm. 28. Oct. 1568. *Yours aſſuredly*, W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

IT ſeemeth long ſince I heard from you, truſting that my Lady and your Son came ſafely to you, although their paſſage was very hard at *Rye*.

We hear many divers news of the matters in *France*; But I give no credit, *untill you ſhall play the Biſhop and confirm them.*

Our Commiſſioners at *York* have heard the Queen of *Scots* complaint, and the anſwer of the other part; wherein they have forborn to charge the Queen with the murther, upon ſome reaſonable reſpects, not knowing what end they will make if they ſhould charge and prove her guilty; hereupon the Queens Majeſty hath ſent for ſome on either part.

Sir *Ra. Sadler* came hither yeſterday, and the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and the Lord *Harris* for the *Scotiſh* Queen came this day, and ſo ſhall *Liddington* and *Mackgill* for the Prince. It is mentioned to have a compoſition, whereto the *Scotiſh* Queen, as they ſay is very willing, Hh *Do-*

ver

ver [illegible] But *A* and B, for the more part, are earneſtly diſpoſed 5λ ɔ ⊢ 7 Πxa*l* and if 3 ɔ Π [illegible] ⊣ 9 Ш Ʊ [[illegible] 7 8 or 9 [illegible] λ ш *l* Ш ɔ ш Π *l* as it is thought very probable, then ſo to be [illegible] 7: [illegible] for other wiſe quietneſs will never long continue.

The Queens Majeſty finding her ſubjects continually ſpoiled by the *French* upon the Seas, is forced to ſend Mr. *Winter* to the Seas with 4. Ships of her Majeſties, and two Barks; I know how many tales will be ſpred of his going; but truly you may avow that his going is wholly to preſerve our Fleet at *Burdeaux* from Piracy, and therefore he is appointed to go towards *Burdeaux* x [illegible] xx ɔ [3 T 4 0 ⊓ Π- 04 E F: [illegible] ω :t 9 Π ⊥ 7 [E Π [illegible] with ·ɔ 7 [illegible] 9: [illegible] *A* hath agreed [illegible] —09 to [illegible] m and for the ſon to have 3 ⊥ 0-05.

I hear ſay, that ſome of our Merchants in *London* have bargained with certain Merchants of *Rochell*, and thereabout, to buy a quantity of Salt, wherewith it is likely that the King there, when he ſhall hear thereof, will be very ſuſpicious; but in ſuch caſes Merchants muſt be permitted to make their bargains, and ſo you ſhall have reaſon to maintain their doings.

The Cardinal *Chaſtillion* ſheweth himſelf ſo quiet a perſon, and in all his languages ſo faithful a ſervant to the King his Maſter, as he meriteth great commendations; he medleth in nothing here, but wholly occupyed in exerciſe of his Religion; he continually lamenteth, that grave Councellors perſwading peace are not of more power and credit in the Court.

Whatſoever this *French* Ambaſſador ſhall report of him, he cannot truly report any evil of him: I hear *La Mot* is on his way, at *Callis*, to come hither.

I think ſurely ſome of yours are on the way. I pray ſend me a Regiſter or Liſt of the Chieftains on the Kings part, and alſo on the contrary. Sir, I do ſend you herewith a new Cipher.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

YOur laſt letters that came to my hands, were of the 29. of the laſt moneth; by which you ſignified to me the advertiſements which you then had of the taking of *Anguleſme*; ſince which time ſundry reports are brought hither of Battels that ſhould be betwixt the parties,

whereof lacking advertiſements from your ſelf; I do give credit unto none, by reaſon of the diverſities of the reports.

On Sunday laſt *La Mot* was preſented by Mounſieur *de la Foreſt*, the former Ambaſſador, whom the Queens Majeſty hath admitted as Ambaſſador for the *French* King, and ſeemeth to like well of his wiſdom; whereof hitherto, for mine own part, I have not had any proof.

The cauſe of the Queen of *Scots* is now to be heard here; for which purpoſe the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Suſſex*, are ſent for from *York*, and are to be here within theſe two days; and preſently the Earl of *Murray*, the Earl *Morton*, with certain other Noble men of his part, are already come; and on the Queens part the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and the Lord *Herryes* be at *London*, and do daily look for ſome other Commiſſioners to joyn with them; becauſe her Majeſty meaneth to have the whole matter adviſedly heard, ſhe hath appointed an Aſſembly, not onely of her whole Council, but of all the Earls of the Realm, to be here the 18. of this moneth; at which time her Majeſty meaneth to have this cauſe of the Queen of *Scots* fully heard, and therein to take ſuch reſolution and end as ſhe ſhall be adviſed unto by her ſaid Council and Eſtates.

The laſt letters which you ſent unto the Queen, wherein, as her Majeſty ſaith, you made declaration of your Meſſage done to that King, concerning the Cardinal *Chaſtillons* being here, was by her Majeſty caſually let fall in the fire, and ſo burnt; whereupon her Majeſty being ſorry for that ſhe had not adviſedly peruſed it, willed me to write unto you for the copy of the ſame letter again, which I pray you to ſend me by the next.

I would be glad to hear a brief, or, as they call it, a liſt of the names of the principal perſons that have a charge now in theſe wars in *France* on both parts, with the contents, as near as you can, of their numbers.

After the writing hereof this preſent evening, as the bearer hereof can tell, Mr. *Edmonds* came hither with your letters to the Queens Majeſty, by which I am ſatisfied for thoſe reports that were made of the great fights at *Anguleſme*; and of that which hath been here reported by the *French* Ambaſſador, of the overthrow of *Mouvans*, which I am glad is not true as he reported; and ſo finding nothing elſe to be anſwered, I thought good to diſpatch this bearer with this my letter, to the intent we might the ſooner hear of your news, whereupon dependeth the whole expectation of the Chriſtian world.

Hampton-Court 16. Nov. 1566.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

Poſt-

Poſtſcript.

Before Mr. *Edmonds* came you may ſee what I wrote of the ☉☌☿: ☌ ☽ ☍ ☌.

To the Right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

BY your laſt letter ſent to me by this bearer your ſervant, I perceived how good hap it was, for our ſatisfaction here, that your letters came not away with the report of the victory, whereof the King there adverti ſed you by a ſpecial Meſſenger, untill you had alſo knowledge of the truth thereof, by *Villeroys* coming from the Camp after the firſt meſſage; for like as the former part of your letters made mention of a great Victory for the King, and an overthrow of the Princes whole Infantry; So have many letters been written hither from *Paris* and other places, according to the partial affections of the Writers, in affirmance thereof, adding for their confirmation, certain ſolemnities by Proceſſions, and ſuch like, uſed at *Paris* for the ſame; nevertheleſs, I account the truth to be as in the latter part of your letter, you write that there was no ſuch manner of battel, but certain skirmiſhes, wherein there was no great inequality; and yet becauſe I hear it alſo credibly reported that the Prince of *Conde* lodged and kept the field, where the skirmiſhes were, I think his loſſes were leſs then the others; whereof I think, within a while, to know the truth more particularly.

This matter of the Queen of *Scots* began to be heard and treated on at *Weſtminſter* the 25. of the laſt moneth, ſince which time there hath been ſittings five or ſix ſeveral days; and yeſterday the Queen of *Scots* Commiſſioners, having matter to anſwer, whereby the Queen their Miſtriſs was charged with the murther of her husband; they alleadged that they would go no further, being ſo commanded by letters from her, received ſince the beginning of this Commiſſion; and have required to ſpeak with the Queens Majeſty, of whom they pretend they will deſire to have the Queen their Miſtriſs to come to the preſence of her Majeſty, and anſwer theſe cauſes her ſelf; whereunto how they ſhall be anſwered, I cannot tell; but for that purpoſe, and others, her Majeſty, hath preſently ſent for her Council, who be here at preſent; and ſo ſhall the Queen of *Scots* Commiſſioners be to morrow; and hereafterward, as matters ſhall fall out, I will advertiſe you further, and ſo take my leave.

Hampton-Court, 2. *Decem.* 1568. *Yours aſſuredly*,

W. Cecil.

To the Right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, her Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

SInce my laſt writing by your ſervant *Buffin*, I have forborn to write, becauſe I thought both to hear ſomewhat more from you; and to have alſo ſomewhat here to write unto you. Since which time, I have received no letrers from you, but ſuch as the poor Merchants of *Ireland* brought me, being dated the 25. of the laſt moneth, which came hither on Saturday laſt, being the 11. of this moneth; and conſidering the multitude of tales reported here to us, of the conflict about the 18. I was nothing ſatisfied with the ſaid laſt letters; becauſe touching that matter they did refer me to your former, againſt which the *French* Ambaſſador here hath preciſely given unto us news, in the name of the King his Maſter, wholly to the diſadvantage of the Prince; and therefore, I wiſh you had written thereof now at the latter time ſomewhat more particularly.

I did of late write to you for the copy of the letter which you wrote unto the Queens Majeſty, touching the ſpeech that was uttered unto you by the King there, concerning the Cardinal *Chaſtillon*, for that, as I wrote unto you, the ſame letter by caſualty was burned before it was thoroughly read and peruſed, and hitherto I have not heard your anſwer to the ſame.

We have been here of late much occupied, in the conference with the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, wherein there hath been eight or nine ſeveral Seſſions; the ſum of the matter is this, the Queens party began at *York* to accuſe the Regent and his party, whereunto they made their anſwer and defence; after which the Queens party, by replication, maintained their accuſation, and then the conference there ſtayed; whereupon the Regent being here with the Queens Majeſty, vehemently charged, was driven, for his defence, to diſcloſe a full Fardel of the naughty matter, tending to convince the Queen as deviſor of the murther; and the Earl of *Bothwell* her Executor; and now the Queens party finding the burthen ſo great, refuſe to make any anſwer, and preſs that their Miſtriſs may come in perſon to anſwer the matter her ſelf, before the Queens Majeſty, which is thought not fit to be granted, untill the great Blots of the marriage with her husband the murtherer, and the evident charges by letters of her own, to be the deviſer of the murther, be ſomewhat razed out or recovered; for that as the matters are exhibited againſt her, it is far unſeemly for any Prince, or chaſte ears, to be annoyed with the filthy noiſe thereof; and yet, as being a Commiſſioner, I muſt and will forbear to pronounce any thing herein certainly; although as a private perſon, I cannot but with horror and trembling think thereof.

In your letters of the 25. you recommended unto me a cauſe of your

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own between you and one *Brabrook*, wherein you write, that one *Tetterſall* your Atturney ſhould have informed me; but herein I have not a good while now dealt withall, but whenſoever any ſhall, I ſhall be glad to ſhew you my friendſhip to my power, *& ſic de cæteris.*

I am ſorry to underſtand of the ſickneſs of your Son, Mr. *William Norris*, and therefore I would be glad to hear from you of his recovery; for indeed I do heartily like him and his condition.

I have alſo dealt with my Lord of *Norfolks* grace in your matter, for your right to the Lord *Dacres* Lands, wherein his Grace, at the Council-table, openly promiſed his favor.

I pray you, Sir, commend me to my good Lady your wife; if there be any good Charte of *France*, made ſince Mr. *Oliver Trunkets* impreſſion having no date; I would be glad to have one, to behold therein the particular voyages and paſſages of theſe contrary powers: And ſo I end.

Hampton-Court, 14. *Decemb.* 1568. *Yours as your own*, W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, reſident in* France.

SIR,

THis bearer your ſervant came hither the laſt of *December*, with yours letters of the 25. and 26. of the ſame, wherein he uſed good diligence; and for the contents thereof, her Majeſty is very well ſatisfied with the diligence of your adverriſing, being before by reaſon of contrarious reports in great ſuſpence what to think; for this *French* Ambaſſador now being here, uſeth an ordinary manner to write unto her Majeſty, in a certain general ſort of the news of that Country, as favorably as he may on the Kings behalf, as reaſon is he ſhould; but yet not without danger of diſcrediting himſelf by reporting untruths. As I conjecture by your adverriſements, it is likely that God hath already permitted ſome great effect to be wrought about this *Chriſtmas* time, by ſome Battail ſtricken betwixt the two Armies; and howſoever it is, I do not doubt but you will advertiſe; and therein the will of God is to be obeyed with thanks, or with patience, as it pleaſeth him to give his grace, or to chaſtiſe.

By your letters alſo, it appeared that the Prince of *Orange*, at the writing thereof, was ſtill in the *French* Kings Dominions; and yet the common report at the ſame time was that he was departed towards *Germany*, whereof the Duke of *Alva's* friends, in the *Low Countries*, began to make ſome triumph.

The

The matter of the Queen of *Scots* remains in these termes; upon the accusation produced by her Commissioners, against the Earl of *Murray*, they have for their defence shewed so much matter to charge her with the procuring of the murther of her husband, as thereupon motion is made, on her behalf, for covering of her honor, to have some appointment betwixt her and her subjects, which is communed of secretly by two or three manner of wayes; that is to say, That she should affirm her resignation of her Crown to her Son, as it hath been made, and live here in *England*.

Or else her self and her Son to joyn in Title, and the Earl of *Murray* to remain Regent: Or, thirdly, her self to remain in Title Queen, and to live here in *England* secluded, and the Earl of *Murray* to continue Regent; which matters have so many pikes, as the venture is great to take hold of any one of them; nevertheless in the mean time outwardly she offereth to prove her self innocent, so she may be permitted to come to the Queens presence and answer for her self; which is thought to be the more earnestly required, because it is also thought assured it will be denyed; and now what is like to grow to be the end thereof, surely I cannot well guess; for as for my self, I finde my insufficiency to wade so deep, and the violence of the stream so great, as without good company assisting in Council, I dare not venture to make any passage; and so wishing you and my Lady, and yours, a fortunate good year, I end. Here is a stay made of certain treasure that came out of *Spain* to pass into *Flanders*, which we take to be Merchants, and not the Kings, as is alleadged; if it shall prove Merchants, we may be bolder to take the use of it, upon good Bonds, for an interest.

Jan. 3. 1568. *Yours assuredly,*
W. Cecil.

SIR,

I Heartily thank you for the last letters of the first of this moneth, wherein you did well deliver us from some perplexity, being by the *French* Ambassador here otherwise advertised, to the advantage of the Cardinalists; his letters are dated the 30 of *December* from the King; and I marvel to perceive by your letters that the skirmish should be the 23. and the advise should not come to you before the 28. for thereby it seemeth the Camp should be so far off, as in four or five days tidings could not come; but this I think may be said, that evil news are brought to that Court slowly, at the least they are uttered slowly. Of this acci-

dent

dent of Arrest, you shall be by her Majesties letters fully advertised; at the signing whereof, her Majesty said that she would have sent a Gentleman expresly to the King; but she considered that being sent by Sea, the journey in this Winter time will be very dangerous and uncertain, and to send him thorow *France*, where the troubles are such as she could not (either without mistrust of the *French* King, because the party should pass thorow *Gascoigne*, and the Queen of *Navarrs* Country, or without certain danger by souldiers:) and thereupon you shall so advertise that Ambassador of *Spain*, and require him to make advertisement accordingly; whereunto you may add, that her Majesty hath thought of three or four meet persons to be sent thither, for one of them to be an Ambassador Resident; but none will be gotten, that with good will will serve, in respect of Mr. *Mans* strange and hard handling; which things her Majesty would have you set out more plainly to him, that the King may finde that onely to be the cause why there is no Resident Ambassador there. And thus I end, having willed *Harcourte* to take some of the Proclamations, if they be ready printed in *French*.

Jan. 8. 1568. *Yours assuredly*,
W. Cecil.

Postscript.

I finde, in a Bill of Petitions, beginning from the 28. of *August* to *December*, sundry sums of money pressed by you for carriage of Packets, to whom I have not answered; and therefore, hereafter, I pray you write expresly, of what you do there, for avoiding of double charge.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight*,
her Majesties Ambassador, Resident in France.

SIR,

SInce the writing the other letter, dated the 8. of *January*, my Lady caused her servant to stay for a Pasport for two Geldings; and sithence my other letter, we have here news from *Flanders* Ǝ λ 5. V. [illegible] touching R and therefore we are in a continual expectation what were the very news of a matter that was reported to have hapned the 23. of *December*.

The more particulars you write hither, and the oftner, the more thankful is your service; and surely I see nothing so meet for us to understand, as to be often advertised from you, which considering, you may write in your Cipher, the oftner you hazard your letters, the less is the peril.

We

We have no news from *Scotland*, but that their Parliament is ended; and amongſt other things they have all aſſented, by Act, to decline the Queen of *Scots* obtaining to be lawful, becauſe ſhe was privy to the murther of her husband. There were none of the Nobillity abſent, but ſuch as were of the *Hambletons*. And thus I end my ſuddain letter, being in a great longing to hear from you.

January 10. 1568. *Yours aſſuredly,*
W. Cecil.

To the Right Honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, Her Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

After, I had written my other letters ſent in this Packet unto you, which I was to have ſent away by one of your Footmen; your ſervant this bearer, *Henry Criſpe*, came hither upon Thurſday laſt with your letters, dated the 22. of this moneth; and perceiving him earneſtly diſpoſed to return unto you, I thought beſt to ſtay the ſending away of your Footman; and to ſend, as I do, this diſpatch by this bearer, which is partly becauſe my former letters ſhall ſeem to bear ſo old a date.

And herewith I ſend unto you, which was not ready before, a memorial, in the *Spaniſh* tongue, of the matters paſſed concerning this late Arreſt; which memorial her Majeſty would have you procure with her letters to the King of *Spain*; and therefore after you have peruſed it, I wiſh you ſhould retain a Copy thereof, either in *Spaniſh* or in *French*, for your better inſtruction; and that done, to uſe all the expedition you may for the conveyance of her Majeſties letters and the ſaid Memorial to the King of *Spain*.

Since the finiſhing of the ſaid memorial, you ſhall underſtand that *D' Aſſondeville* hath been here a good time, being not as yet accepted as an Ambaſſador; for that he hath no ſpecial letters nor Commiſſion from the King, but from the Duke of *Alva*; And all that he can ſay for himſelf, is, That he cometh in the Kings name, as one of his Privy Council, and whatſoever he ſhall do ſhall be confirmed by the King, before he will depart out of the Realm. He would alſo privately confer with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, which hath been hitherto denyed, for that it is meant that the misbehaviors of the ſaid Ambaſſadors ſhould be openly diſcloſed to *D' Aſſonleville*, thereby to let it appear how unmeet a man he is to be a Miniſter for Amity here, which yeſterday was declared to *D' Aſſonleville* at my Lord Keepers houſe, where he came to theſe of the Council

Council following, my Lord Keeper, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord Admiral, my self, Mr. *Sadler*, and Mr. *Mildmay*; and that done, he seemed sorry for things past, and yet pressed still to speak with the Ambassador, which was not then granted by us, for that we did intend that resolution should grow from her Majesty, which, though it be not yet known, I think he shall not be denyed. In these matters we have cause to be somewhat slow to satisfie them, lest they should, according to their accustomed manner, grow too audacious; what will be the end thereof, I cannot judge, but I trust it will appear that they have begun upon a wrong ground; and, as it falleth out, I think they shall be found to be behinde hand with us. Yesterday, word came to *London*, that all the *English* Fleet, which were feared should have been Arrested in *Spain*, came home safe; and this day I have heard for certainty that *Hawkins* is arrived at *Mounts Bay*, with the Queens Ship the *Minnion*, having in her the Treasure, which he hath gotten by his Trade in the *Indies*, and by rigor of the *Spaniards* near *Mexico* was forced to leave the *Jesus* of *Lubeck* upon a Leek; which also he destroyed, that they took no profit thereof; hereafter I will write unto you, as I shall learn the further truth of this matter, with what cruelty he was used, under pretence of friendship, and of a compact made betwixt him and the Vice-Roy of the *Indies*, and Pledges delivered on both sides for the performance thereof. The Queen of *Scots* was removed from *Bolton*, by my Lord *Scrope*, and Mr. Vice-chamberlain, on Wednesday last; so as I think, on Monday or Tuesday, she shall be at *Tetbury*, where the Earl of *Shrewsbury* is already, and there shall take the charge of her; and with him shall Mr. *Hen. Knollis*, brother to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, remain to assist him. Of late the Queens Majesty understanding out of *Scotland*, that the Queen of *Scots* faction there had published sundry things, being very false and slanderous (meaning thereby to withdraw the Earl of *Murrays* friends from him, and to bring the Queens Majesty doings into some question, whereof we also be credibly informed) the Queen of *Scots*, by her letters, was the very cause; thereupon her Majesty ordered to have the contrary notified upon her Frontiers, for maintenance of the truth, as by the same you shall understand, which I send you herewith in Print. The advertisements which you gave both to my Lord of *Leicester*, and me, of the secret cause of the Kings going to *Metz*, seemeth to be of such importance, as it is found very needful to provide with speed some remedy, and so we here, for our part, will do our best as Λ V |6| [illegible] serve, which you may consider [illegible] |1| ∴ 2 V [illegible] considering the 4 4 3 : ⊙ 2 [illegible] *Je* [illegible]; and therefore I pray you attempt all the means you can to

adviſe all parts that ſhall take the harm. I have no more to write to you, meaning to expect, within three or four days, ſomewhat from you; and then I will write by one of your Footmen, and ſo I take my leave.

The *French* Ambaſſador hath been informed of the ſtay of our Ships at *Rhoan*, and on Thurſday laſt my Lords of the Council ſent Mr. *Hampton* to him to move him, that they might be releaſed within 15. days, or elſe we muſt do the like; his anſwer was, that he would do his beſt; and he truſted they ſhould be, imputing the cauſe to our ſufferance of the Prince of *Conde* his party on the Sea to make Portſale in our Havens, which ſurely is not by us permitted; and therefore for his ſatisfaction, we did yeſterday write letters to all Officers of Ports, to prohibit utterly the vent of any Commodities brought in by ſuch men; and beſides this, the Ambaſſador hath required that you would be earneſt with the King for the releaſe of our Ships, which we told him was not neglected by you; and ſo, I doubt not, but you do your beſt therein.

This day the Ambaſſador ſent his Secretary unto me to complain, that the Currier of *Callis* carrying his Packet from hence ſhould be ſearched, and certain Packets of letters taken from him, which I told him was true; and the cauſe thereof ſuch, as we had more reaſon to complain thereof then he; For true it is, that the ſaid Currier having but one ſmall Packet of the *French* Ambaſſadors, under pretence thereof, had carryed with him two great Fardels of letters of the Merchants of the *Low Countries*, who were here Arreſted with their goods, a matter alſo whereof the ſaid Ambaſſador was forewarned; and ſo is the matter to be proved by the letters of the ſaid ſtrangers, which I at preſent have in my cuſtody; and ſo the Poſt was permitted freely to depart with all manner of letters, which he had of the ſaid Ambaſſador. And ſo I pray you to make anſwer therein, as you ſhall ſee cauſe, for ſo is the truth, and no otherwiſe.

Yours aſſuredly,

Hampton-Court, Jan. 30. 1568. W. Cecil.

To the Right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

OF late I have received three ſeveral letters from you, the firſt of the 11. the ſecond of the 13. and the laſt of the 15. of *February*, although that of the 13 of *February* was written to be in *January*, but I am ſure to be miſtaken. By the firſt it appeared, that you could not obtain of Mounſieur *Morviller* the names of any Ships or Merchants of that party

party which were ſtayed here; although they pretended the ſtay of ours at *Rhoan* to be for that cauſe: In the ſame letter you make mention of two diſ-courteſies, or as I may rather ſay, injuries done unto you; the one by taking *Rogers* your ſervant, the other by impriſoning the Phyſician to my Lady your wife; of which two matters, you may ſee by the anſwer made to the *French* Ambaſſador, I have made mention. The ſecond letter, of the 13. which was brought to me by this bearer, containeth matter of burthening you by the Queen Mother for ſolliciting the Queens Majeſty, to take ſome enterprize for *Callis* or *Rochel*, wherein I think your wiſdom ſufficient to ſatisfie your ſelf what to think; for if you had ſo done, as I know not that you have, it were not unlike, but they there would invent and ſet abroach, for their advantage, the like matter, if the circumſtances were theirs, as they be ours. And where you are charged with conveyance of the Rebels letters (as they call them) in your Packets; I think the ſame and the former part are fed with one humor, which is, that though you do not in this ſort, yet they ſurely would ſo do in the like; wherefore I wiſh you to be no ways troubled herewith; but as the end of the verſe is, *Contra audentior ito*; and yet to hold this rule, to be a Miniſter of good amity betwixt the Princes, *uſque ad aras*, that is, as far forth as it be not againſt the honor of God, and the ſafety of the Queen our Sovereign.

By your letter of the 15. which was written after you had cloſed up the Packet brought by this bearer, you advertiſed me of the news which you had of Monſieur *Gengez*; and of the joyning together of the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke *Pipantine*, whereof, ſaving your advertiſements, otherwiſe we hear nothing, but rather the contrary, being ſpred ſo by the *French* Ambaſſador here, with affirmations of great credit. In the latter end of your letter of the 13. it appeareth you had not then ſent away the Queens Majeſties letters to the King of *Spain*, whereof I am very ſorry, for her majeſty maketh an aſſured account, that they had been in *Spain* by this time, which I ſee you did not, becauſe the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was not at Court, but at *Paris*; for remedy whereof, all ſpeed poſſible would be uſed to ſend them by a ſpecial man to the Ambaſſador at *Paris*, with ſome excuſe to him of ſending the ſame ſo late. You ſhall underſtand that Monſieur *D' Aſſonleville*, who came onely from the Duke of *Alva*, hath been here of long time, hovering to have had acceſs to the Queen as an Ambaſſador, which her Majeſty would not allow of, nor would ſo much prejudice her ſelf in reſpect of the unkinde uſage of the Duke of *Alva*; and yet nevertheleſs allowed unto him as much conference as he would with her Council; to whom although he did open, as we think, the ſum of

his negotiation, yet he pretended to have ſomewhat more to her Majeſty, if he might have audience of her, which, otherwiſe, he ſaid he could open to no body.

As to that which he opened to the Council, which was a requeſt to have the money releaſed, and the Arreſt ſet at liberty; It was anſwered, That the money belonged to Merchants, and that he could not deny, but added that it was meant to have been lent unto the Duke of *Alva* in the *Low Countries*, and ſo as they termed it, deſigned to the Kings uſe; as to the reſtitution of the money, and putting the Arreſt at liberty, ſhe would neither deny nor grant the ſame to him, conſidering he lacked authority to make ſufficient contract thereupon; but when the King himſelf ſhould ſend one ſufficiently authorized, both to underſtand, and to redreſs the injuries done by the Duke of *Alva* to her Majeſties ſubjects; it ſhould well appear that the King ſhould be reaſonably ſatisfied on her Majeſties behalf, and amity and peace ſhould be conſerved according to the Treaties. And beſides this, it was added, that ſeeing the Duke of *Alva* began the Arreſt firſt, it was reaſon they ſhould alſo begin the releaſe; and ſo in the end *D' Aſſonleville* appearing to be much miſcontented, was licenſed to depart, and ſo is gone, having uſed all good gentle ſpeech that could be, during his being here; notwithſtanding the report of his great bravery made at *Callis* before his coming, which either was not true, or elſe purged his choler upon the Seas coming hither. Thus having, as time could ſerve me, enlarged my letter, I end, with my hearty thanks to you for the Charts of *France* which I perceive are of the like as I had ſeen before, ſo as I think there is no newer printed.

Yours aſſuredly,
as your own,
W. Cecil.

Weſtm. March, 7. 1568.

Poſtſcript.

I would gladly know, whether the paper you ſent me, containing the Emperors anſwer to the *French* Kings demand, be to be allowed as true.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry
Norris *Knight &c.*

SIR,

SIR,

BY the Queens Majeſties letters you ſhall perceive in what ſort the *French* Ambaſſador hath ſought to frame a tale of ſlander againſt you, her Majeſty hath anſwered for you, and as long as no other thing can be produced to touch you, it is reaſon that her Majeſty ſhould anſwer as ſhe doth.

Your ſervant *Madder* came ſafely hither four days paſt, and I have heard from my Lady, of *Harts* taking, and the Queens Majeſties letters from him. Whereof, as I know upon her advertiſement to you, you will uſe ſome roundneſs of ſpeech by way of complaint there; ſo have we here not forborn to charge the Ambaſſador with theſe diſ-courteous dealings, who promiſes earneſtly to write to the King thereof. The *French* Ambaſſador giveth out ſtore of News of the overthrow of *Montgomery*, the taking of his brother, of *Gonliſs* death, of the Duke of *Bipots* ſickneſs; of his want of money to go to the Feild, but we heard of many contraries to theſe; and ſo I wiſh you your hearts deſire.

Weſtm. 14. March. 1568. *Yours aſſuredly,*
To the Right Honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, her Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France. W. Cecil.

SIR,

YOur ſervant *Crips* came hither yeſternight, as I perceive, conſtrained to follow and accompany Monſieur *de Montaſſyer*, who this day was brought to the Queens Majeſties preſence to report the Victory which God had given to the *French* King by a Battail, as he termed it, wherein was ſlain the Prince of *Conde*; whereunto, as I could conceive, her Majeſty anſwered, that of any good Fortune hapning to the King, ſhe was glad; but ſhe thought it alſo to be condoled with the King, that it ſhould be counted a Victory to have a Prince of his blood ſlain; and ſo with ſuch like ſpeech, not fully to their contentation.

Before the coming of your letters, we could not firmly believe the reports of the Prince of *Conde's* death, but now the will of God is to be interpreted in this and all things to the beſt.

I am ſorry to ſee you ſo troubled, whereof her Majeſty is ſo informed, as ſhe told the *French* Ambaſſador, that if he will not procure the King his Maſter to cauſe you and yours to be otherwiſe entreated, ſhe will revoke you; In the mean ſeaſon I pray you keep your former courage, *& contra audentior ito.*

I

I have been, and yet am, not in ſure health, as your Son can inform you, whereby I am not able to write any long letter; when *Madder* was here, I gave him a Memorial of ſundry things, of which I truſt he hath by this time informed you at length.

We have heard nothing from *Rochel* ſince this re-encounter at *Cognac*, but from *Paris* we hear, that ſaving the loſs of the Princes perſon, the other part hath the greater loſs in numbers; and that the Admiral did defeat fourty Enſigns of Mounſieurs Army that offered to beſiege him in *Cognac*, hereof ſhortly the truth will be known. I note that this 13. of *March* laſt paſt had two ſundry great effects; for upon that day, when the Regent of *Scotland* ſhould have fought with the Duke of *Chaſtilherault*, they did notably accord the ſame day in this ſort, that the Duke acknowledged the young King, and went with the Regent to *Sterling*; and with him, beſides other Noblemen, the Lord *Herryes*, who had been here a vehement Commiſſioner for the Queen of *Scots*.

Beſides, it is accorded, that for redreſs of all private quarrels, there were four Noblemen named of either part to end all, who ſhould come to *Edenburgh* the tenth of *April* to treat thereupon; and this was unwilling to the Queen of *Scots*, who muſt needs be greatly perplexed therewith; what will follow, I know not, but the Regent is now well obeyed; the ſame day we ſee what was done in *Poytiers*, wherein Gods judgements are not to be over much ſearched.

I ſend you within the Queens Majeſties letter, a paper in a new Cipher to |19| |1| |0| *Je* ♄ 29: 3 2̇ 9. |19| V̄ *le* 0·ɔ91 ⊙⊙ ⊔ɣ 7: ∞95 which he deſireth foraſmuch as all power egal to be ɛ to ·t ○ ⊔ A 8 Ƶ ϑ̇ϑ̈ which I pray you do.

And thus I finde my ſelf not able to indure any longer writing, and therefore end.

Weſtm. 6. April, 1568.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

SIR,

AFter I had cloſed up this other Packet, I had occaſion to ſtay the bearer, partly by indiſpoſition of my health, and alſo within a day after, by reaſon of the coming of your Son, *John Norris*, with your letters of the 15. of this moneth, who gave us here to underſtand of certain diſcomfortable news which were told him at *Abeville*; and as it appeareth, were in great haſte ſent before him by the Marſhal *de Coſſe* to the

the *French* Ambaſſador, containing an abſolute Victory by the Kings brother, in a battail beſides *Cognac*; in which it was written, that the Prince of *Conde*, and the reſt of the Nobility with him, ſaving the Admiral and *Dandelot* (who were fled) were all ſlain; and this news being here diſperſed abroad, I thought good to ſtay the ſending away of this bearer, untill we might better underſtand what to think truth herein; which being now four days, and therein no confirmation of the aforeſaid news, but a doubtful maintenance of them; whereby it is thought that either no part was true, or not in ſuch ſort as was reported; and therefore knowing the neceſſity of your mans ſervice, I do return him unto you.

We underſtand certainly out of *Scotland*, that there hath been an accord by certain Articles made betwixt the Regent and the Duke of *Chaſtilherault* and his party, wherein the obedience to the King is acknowledged, and a Surceaſe untill the tenth of *April*; at which time the Duke and eight more, choſen on both parts, ſhall meet at *Edenburgh*, to conſer of the eſtate of the Queen of *Scots*, how ſhe ſhall be reputed; and likewiſe of recompences for the loſſes on both parts ſuſtained in theſe civil wars; and for performance of this Treaty, the Duke, the Earle of *Caſſels*, and the Lord *Herryes*, remain with the Regent, untill they put in their Sons for Hoſtages; and the Regent in the mean time intendeth to uſe his force to ſubdue the Out-laws upon our Frontiers.

I received letters even now out of *Ireland*, by which it is written of the defeat of four hundred *Iriſh* and *Scots*, onely by ſixſcore *Engliſhmen*; I ſhall continually hearken for your letters, to declare to us the truth of this great tale of the Battail of *Cognac*. We hear that the Count *Meighen* is newly departed and fled into *Germany* upon fear.

27. *March*, 1568. *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecil.

Poſtſcrip.

The time ſerveth me not to write to you of your ſelf, for your motion of leaving that place.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight*, &c.

SIR,

SInce the coming hither of *Harcourt*, who came hither on St. *George* his day, as it ſeemeth, with good haſte; we here have been much unſatisfied, for that we could not imagine what to conceive to be the cauſe that in ſo long ſpace we heard not from you; having in the mean

time

time ſo many divers tales, as we were more troubled with the uncertainty, then glad of the news; and toadd more grief, we could not hear from *Rochel* ſince the *Re*-encounter, untill now by a Merchant that came hither within theſe two dayes paſt, by whom we are more aſcertained then before; by him we underſtand, that the loſs of the Prince is more in reputation then in deed, for that now the whole Army is reduced to better Order then it was before. The Vidame of *Charles* is come to *Plimouth* and his wife, as it is thought, not being well liked of amongſt the Nobility, becauſe he married ſo meanly; indeed it muſt needs be ſome reproof to him to come away when ſervice is requiſite. Since the accord made in *Scotland* the 13. of *March*, at *Eaſter* laſt, the Duke of *Chaſtilherault* and his part, hearing, as it is thought of the death, of the Prince of *Conde*, and by brute, that the Admiral and all that party were utterly ſubverted, did go back from their agreement, which was, to acknowledge the young King and the Regent; whereupon, as we hear, the Duke himſelf, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*, the Lord *Herryes*, and the Lord *Rosbim*, are committed to the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, what will follow I know not; God ſtay theſe troubles that increaſe ſo near us; I think you do hear from Mr. *Killigrew*, who is ſent to the *Palſgrave* of *Rheine*, and ſo I end.

April, 27. 1569. *Yours aſſuredly*, W. Cecil.

Poſtſcript.

Sir, to avoid ſome length of my own writing, I do ſend you herewith the ſum of the Negotiation lately with the *French* Ambaſſador, and thereto have adjoyned the Copy of the Proclamation, that is meant to be made by the Queens Majeſty, which is mentioned in the other writing; and a Copy alſo of a cluſe contained in the *French* Kings Proclamation; by all means you may, well underſtand that which hath paſſed in this matter, and ſhape your own ſpeech there accordingly.

W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, Ambaſſador in* France.

SIR,

YOu have much ſatisfied us here with your letters ſent by *Madder*, who is able to explicate the affairs very ſenſibly; and now I have thought good to addreſs to you, *Hartcourte* knowing that he is very ſerviceable unto you. And as for any news to make recompence to you, I have not; and glad I am that our Country doth not yeild any ſuch as *France*;

France; and yet in the way of Chriſtian charity, I do lament the miſfortune of *France*, marvailling that a Country that hath had ſo many wiſe men, able to offend other Countries, hath none to deviſe help for themſelves. I wiſh that you would learn of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador there, whether he ſent the letters which you delivered to him from the Queens Majeſty.

There is ſome ſecret means made hither, to come to accord with the *Low Countries*, and therein I ſee the moſt doubt will be in deviſing aſſurance how to continue the accords.

Our Navy hath been ready theſe fourteen days at *Harwich*, to go with the Merchants Fleet of Wooll and Cloth to *Hamburgh*; and our Fleet that was appointed to *Rochelis*, as we think, there, by means of the Eaſterly winds that hath hindred and ſtayed the other Fleet. God ſend them both a good return, for they are no ſmall offence to our neighbors; that to *Hamburgh*, to the Duke of *Alva*; and the other, to the *French*.

The *French* Ambaſſador continueth a ſuitor, that no Ambaſſador be ſent to *Rochell*; and that our Merchants cannot forbear, ſpecially for Salt which cannot be had in other places, although even now great likelihood is of ſufficiency to be had, within theſe 12. moneths, in *England*.

The Earl of *Murray* proceedeth ſtill in uniting to him the Lords that were divorced from him; and ſpecially, of late, the Earl of *Arguile* is reconciled to him; and the like is looked for of the Earl of *Huntley*. I have no more, but to end with my commendations.

Greenwich, 15. *May*, 1569. *Yours aſſured at command*,
W. Cecil.

SIR,

YOur laſt letters, that came hither to my hands, were written the 27. by which, amongſt other things, you wrote of the brute, of the impoiſoning *Dandelot* by the means of an *Italian*, of which matter we were here advertiſed almoſt ten days before; the report was in part before he was ſick, ſuch aſſurance have theſe Artizans of their works; the will of God be fulfilled, to the confuſion and ſhame of ſuch as work them, and ſuch great iniquities. We have certain news from *Rochell*, that *Dandelot*, being opened, the very poiſon was manifeſtly found in him.

Original letters intercepted by perſons of credit in the *French* Court, of Advertiſement concerning the Q. of *Scots* and Duke of *Anjou*.

The Queens Majeſty, of late, was very credibly advertiſed by ſight of original letters, of perſons of no ſmall reputation in that Kings Court, which have entreated of the matter, whereof heretofore your ſelf hath ad-

advertised concerning the [o] V ☠ *D* and ☉ Π 8 λ ☉ ☋ for the transferring ♒ 4 ♃ V Λ ♅ 8 ♆ ♈ 3. And now her Majesty would have you use all good means that you can possible, to learn some more truth hereof, and thereof with speed to advise her Majesty; for it is so precisely denyed on the other part here, as nothing can be more. The *French* Ambassador continueth complaining of lack of restitution in general; yet I assure you he never is refused restitution upon any particular demand; where, contrarywise, our Merchants are daily evil used at *Rhoan*, and specially *Callis*; and, as it seemeth, the Governor of *Callis* regardeth not the Ambassadors speeches or promises here; or else it is Covenanted betwixt them to Boulster out their doings.

That the said *Scotish* Queen should transfer her Title on the said Duke.
To learn more truth hereof, and advertise with speed.
This precisely denyed by the other side.

Mr. *Winter* departed from *Harwich* the 19. of *May*, and came to *Hamburgh* the 23. remained there untill the 28. and returned safe to *Harwich* the first of *June*, all in good safety, with the Queens Ships, leaving two there to return with our Merchants. It is found that all the Ships in the Country dare not deal with six of the Queens, being armed as they are; motion is made of accord betwixt us and the *Low Countries*. The Earl of *Murray* hath no resistance in *Scotland*.

Greenwich, 4. *June*, 1569. *Yours assuredly*,
W. Cecil.

Postscript.

SIR,

IT is now accorded, that three of the Merchants shall pass over to *Rohan*, to prove what restitution the *French* will make there, and the like shall be here.

Because I doubt your slack servants, I do presently send away this bearer; otherwise I would have staid him to have seen what manner of news this Ambassador hath to declare upon Tuesday next, at which time he hath required to be heard.

I am ready, as I told your Son, Mr. *William Norris*, to do any thing in my power to pleasure you in your particular causes or suites here; as the last Term, I did deal for you in such as I was required;

Yours assuredly,
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majesties Ambassador, Resident in* France.

SIR,

SIR,

YOur last letters are of the 8, of *June*, brought by a Merchant residing at *Rhoan*; and now our daily expectation is to hear, either of the joyning of the Duke *Vypont* with the Admiral, or else that they have been kept asunder by fight; we have no news here, being contented with continuance of quietneſs, which we think to poſſeſs, except the motions of the contrary ſhall come from thence, whereof we have great cauſe to fear, and the like to prevent. Upon a Reprizal made by Mr. *Winter* here of certain *Portugals* goods, We hear, for certainty, that the King of *Portugal* hath Arreſted the goods of our Merchants there, whereof will follow ſome jarr, which we think our foes will increaſe.

The Queen of *Scots* hath ſent one *Borthick*, by whom at his requeſt, I wrot yeſterday, and her Secretary *Rowlye*, into *France*, to procure from the King and his brother *D' Anjou*, ſome ſatisfaction to the Queens Majeſty, for avoiding of the opinion conceived of her tranſaction, with Mounſieur *D' Anjou*; how they ſhall well ſatisfie her Majeſty, I cannot tell; but, as of late I wrote to you, her Majeſty would have you explore, by all means that you can, what hath been in truth done heretofore in that caſe, beſides the advertiſement; for her Majeſty hath ſeen letters paſſed betwixt no mean perſons of Authority there, being adverſaries to the Religion; by which it manifeſtly appeareth, that ſuch matters have been ſecretly concluded; and yet the more tryals are made hereof, the better it is.

We have, at length, accorded with the *French* Ambaſſador here, as as you ſhall ſee by a Copy of writing herewith ſent you, and ſo I take my leave of you. I wiſh that you would always when you ſend any with your letters, write what you impreſt to them for their charges, for I make full allowance to them all: And ſo with my hearty commendations to you and my Lady, I end. Our Progreſs is like to be to *Southampton*.

Greenwich, 18 *June* 1569.

Your aſſured friend at command,
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henrry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

THis bearer Mr *Borthick*, ſervant to the Queen of *Scots*, hath required me to have my letters unto you, to ſignifie the cauſe of his com-

coming; wherein I can certifie, of my knowledge, no other than thus; the Queen of *Scots*, of late time, amongst other things, to move the Queens Majesty to be favoureble unto her in her causes, offered to do any thing reasonable to satisfie her Majesty, concerning her surety in the right of this Crown, as she now possesseth it to her self and her issue; whereupon answer was given, that though there was no need, for the Queens Majesties assurance, to have any Act pass from her, yet as things were understood, the Queen of *Scots* was not now a person able or meet to contract therein, for it was understood that she had made a Conceession of all her Title to this Crown, to the Duke of *Anjou*; with which answer we finde the Queen of *Scots* much moved as a thing devised by her enemies in *France*; and thereupon she adverteeth the cause to be of the sending of her servants into *France* to the King his Brother, Uncles, &c. to make perfect testimony in what sort this surmise is untrue; and so, as I am informed this is the occasion of the coming of Mr. *Borthick* this Bearer, who, truly, I have found always a good servant to the Queen his Mistris, and a tractable Gentleman at all times; and so I pray you accept him upon my commendations.

Westm. 16. *June*, 1569. *Yours assuredly*,
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majesties Ambassador, Resident in* France.

SIR,

YOur advertisement of the Duke of *Bipont* came hither so speedily, as untill seven days after the *French* Ambassador could not understand thereof; but when he did, he used no sparing to divulge it abroad; where the Count *Erneſt* of *Mansfelt* is, we cannot as yet understand; but from *Rochell* we hear that he is well allowed of the Army, and not inferior in knowledge to the Duke. The will of God must be patiently received and obeyed; and what shall ensue hereof to his glory, we must, if it be good, affirm it to be beyond our deserts; if otherwise, not so evil as we have deserved.

Of late, about the 15. of *June*, a Rebellion began in the West part of *Ireland* about *Cork*; wherein we care not for the force of the inhabitants, so they be not aided with some *Spaniards* or *Portugals*, whereof we are not void of suspicion; and therefore we do presently send certain Captains with a Force by sea from *Bristoll* to *Cork*, meaning to provide for the worst, as reason is.

Our

Our *Rochell* Fleet is ſafely returned with Salt; and I think the Merchants have not as yet brought their whole accomplement.

Upon your laſt advertiſement of the delays uſed in giving you Paſports, I did peremptorily admoniſh the *French* Ambaſſador, That if he did not procure you ſome better expedition at the Kings hands there, he ſhould have the like meaſure there; and therefore I think you ſhall hear ſomewhat, whereof I pray you advertiſe me: And ſo I take my leave.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

[illegible], 3. July, 1569.

Poſtſcript.

An unfortunate Accident is befaln to my Lord of *Shrewsbury*, being firſt ſtricken with a Palſey, and now ſtricken lamentably with a Phrenſie, God comfort him; It is likely the Queen of *Scots* ſhall remove to *Belvoir*, in the charge of my Lord of *Bedford*.

To the right honorable, Sir Henrry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

AS my leiſure is ſmall to write much, ſo have I not much matter to write unto you at this time; but onely to ſend away this bearer your ſervant unto you, becauſe I think in this time you have cauſe to uſe them all. Your Son, Mr. *John Norris*, I think ſhall be the next by whom you ſhall underſtand all our matters here better then I can expreſs in my letters; and therefore I do forbear to write divers things at this preſent unto you, which by him you ſhall more certainly underſtand; onely at this time I wiſh that you could find the means to ſend ſome truſty perſon to [illegible] there to underſtand the certainty of the matter, whereof you did laſt advertiſe her Majeſty concerning the [illegible]. For herein it is neceſſary to be better aſcertained, then by reports, leſt ſome may inform you of things to move us here, to enter further then will be allowable. Your conſtancy in opinion for the maintenance of Gods cauſe is, here, of good Councellors much liked, and in that reſpect I aſſure you, I do earneſtly commend you.

To ſend a truſty perſon to *Marcells.*

Greenwich, 11. July, 1569.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

Poſtſcript.

I pray that I may be commended to my good Lay, whom I ſee void of fear of Wars, for love of your company.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

SIR,

YOur last letters brought unto me by the *French* Ambassadors Secretary were of the 9. of this moneth, the advertisement wherein being in Ciphers contented me so much, as I wish you could by the next make me good assurance of the truth thereof; and if the same be true, methinketh the contrary party should not forbear to take advantage of the time. This day the *French* Ambassador had to dinner with him, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of [illegible] the Earl of *Leicester* my Lord Chamberlain, and my self; having invited us four or five days past; where my Lord of *Leicester* and I had privately reported the misusage of you by them of your house by the Parisians, who seemed to be ignorant thereof, imputing the same to their insolency, reporting, for example, their late boldness in executing of the two Merchants which the King had pardoned, whereof your self also of late wrote unto the Queens Majesty. Afterward he entred more privately with me in discoursing of the causes why you were misliked there, to be onely for the intelligence which you had with his Masters Rebels; a matter, as he said, if he should attempt the like here, he knew that I would so mislike, as he could not be suffered to remain here as an Ambassador. I told him that for any thing to me known therein, he did as much here to his power; but we had no such cause of suspicion as they had, and therefore he heard nothing of us. I confess that I thought you as well-willing to the cause of Religion, as any Minister the Queen had, and I liked you the better; neither would I ever consent that any other manner of person should be sent to be our Ambassador there. In the end, he required me to write earnestly unto you, by way of advice, that you would forbear your manner of dealing with the Kings Rebels; and I told him that so I would, and durst assure him that you would deal with none whom you could account as Rebells; percase, you would wish well to the Kings good servants, that were afflicted for their consciences; and so after such like advisings, we went to dinner. Whe. I consider by whom I send this letter, I mean your Son, I finde my self ensured of writing, being also, as he knoweth, oppressed at present with business; I am bold to end, with my heartiest commendations to you, and my Lady; I thank you for your good entertainment of Mr. *Borthick*, for he hath written thereof very well.

20. July, 1569. W. Cecil:

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majesties Ambassador, Resident in* France.

SIR,

SIR,

SInce the time that we firſt ſent the Merchants to *Rhoan*, to confer with the Marſhall *de Croſſe*, for reſtitution to be made on either ſide, we never heard from them but once; at which time they advertiſed us, that the Merchants pretended ignorance of thoſe things which the Ambaſſador here had alleaged both in the Kings name, and in his, nevertheleſs he entreated them well; and cauſed them to ſtay untill he might ſend and have anſwer from the King, which they did; and ſince that time we have not heard of them; but making report thereof to the Ambaſſador, he would not ſeem to believe our Merchants, pretending the miſtaking of the Marſhals words; and ſo in the end, by his frequent ſolicitation, the Queens Majeſty hath accorded, by advice of her Council, in ſuch manner as you perceive, by a Copy hereof in writing ſent herewith; the like whereof is ſent at this preſent unto the ſaid Merchants remaining at *Rhoan*. In which accord, you ſhall ſee a diviſion of the matters in queſtion according to their natures; That is, for things plainly and openly Arreſted and ſtaid, to be reſtored within a time, without ſuit in Law; the reſt of the things to be reſtored, by order of Law, with favorable expedition; whereas the Ambaſſador would have had the accord made, that all things, of what nature ſoever they were, being proved to have been taken by any the Queens ſubjects; or any other that ſhould be proved to have brought the ſame into any Port or Creek of this Realm, that immediate reſtitution or recompence ſhould be made for the ſame, whereby you can gueſs what matters he meant to have drawn to their advantage, by ſuch large words. Thus much of this matter I have thought good to write unto you for your information; and for the enlargement thereof, I have at preſent written to the Merchants, to advertiſe you of their proceedings.

We have report come to us from *Callis*, that the King there is come to *Paris*, and that his brother, with his Army, is at *Orleance*, with many other things, to the advantage of the Prince of *Navarr*; but hereof I make no certainty nor account, untill I may hear from you.

You ſhall, perchance, hear of ſome troubles in *Ireland*, which alſo may be by our ill-willers increaſed; and therefore I have thought good to impart unto you briefly the ſtate of thoſe matters, *Fitz Morris* of *Deſmond*, one that pretendeth title to the Earldom of *Deſmond*, hath traiterouſly conſpired with divers Rebels in the South-Weſt part, with one *Mac Cartemore*, late time made Earl of *Clancarty*, to withſtand the Authority of the Queens Majeſty; and pretendeth to make a change of Religion, being provoked thereto by certain Friars, that have offered to

get him aid out of *Spain* and *Portugall*; and upon comfort hereof, hath with a Rebellious number over-run divers parts in the West; and especially made great spoil upon certain Lands belonging to Sir *Warham* St. *Leger*, neer *Corke*. And besides this, I have procured the Earl of *Ormonds* younger brethren to commit like riotous acts, pretending, on their part, that they do the same, not of any disobedience to the Queen, but to maintain their private Titles and Lands against Sir *Peter Carew*, whom indeed the Lord Deputy there findeth very serviceable against them; and in that respect, it seemeth, they would cover their disorders, But thanked be God, the brothers powers are dispersed, and they driven into desert places; and the Deputy was the 27. of the last moneth in a Castle of Sir *Edward Butlers*, which was taken by force, and from thence marched with his Army against the other Rebells, who also fled from him. And so, although indeed it be a matter to be pitied, to have any such disorder to be begun, yet with Gods goodness there is great likelihood of due avenge to be had of them all; and no small profit to grow to the Queens Majestie, by the forfeitures and escheats of their Lands, wherewith the better subjects may be rewarded.

The *French* Ambassador hath been here this day, and shewed the Queens Majesty, that the King is come to *Paris* to levy mony for increase of his Army, and that there are coming six thousand more *Switzers* to his service.

The 25. of the last, the Earl of *Murray* began a convention at St. *Johns* Town, and meaneth to send, as I think, the Lord *Lydlington* hither with his minde concerning the Queen of *Scots*; and so I end with my hearty commendations, both to your self, and my Lady.

Yours assuredly,
W. Cecil.

Otlands, 3. *Aug*. 1569.

Postscript.

[1] ⓘ V ·t ⌒ 3 4 ♃ 2 6 Π ♃ here is very desirous that [9] ♣ ω π ♓ 7: 3 ♃ ♃ 4, might be 6 ♃ ♉ 6 a ♀ hither.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majesties Ambassador, Resident in* France.

SIR,

SIR,

YOur laſt letters brought hither to my hands came by Mr. *Huddleſton*, whom ſurely I think you ſhall finde an honeſt ſervitor; I have no matter preſently to write of, but to take occaſion to ſend away this bearer your ſervant, and I wiſh to hear from you of ſome good ſucceſs at *Poictiers*; I do lye in wait for the *Italian*, of whom you lately made mention in your letters, that is ſent hither to attempt his deviliſh concluſions.

Out of *Ireland*, ſince my laſt, I have heard nothing of any moment, but I truſt all ſhall be in quiet there; and ſo is the ſtate of this Realm alſo, howſoever any other ſhall report, having a diſpoſition of malicious propheſying.

In *Suffolk*, a lewd Varlet, not diſpoſed to get his living by labor, moved a number of light perſons to have made a rout in manner of Rebellion, to have ſpoiled the richer ſort; but the matter was diſcovered, and the offenders taken before they did attempt any thing more then had paſſed by words; ſo as thereby they are puniſhable, but as conſpirers by words, and not as actual Rebels.

The convention of St. *Johns*-Town in *Scotland* was diſſolved about the ſecond of this moneth; and one Wedneſday laſt came hither one *Alexander Hume* from the Regent, with letters, declaring that he had an univerſal obedience in *Scotland*, and that the States there would not conſent to any thing concerning the Queen of *Scots* reſtitution by any manner of Degree; wherewith her Majeſty is not well pleaſed, becauſe ſhe hath a diſpoſition to have her out of the Realm, with ſome tollerable conditions to avoid perill, which is a matter very hard, at the leaſt to me, to compaſs; I think you ſhall hear ſomeways of an intention of ☿ ☌ ☍ ♄ ☐ ♃ ☽ ♂ and ☉ ☍ ☿ ☍ ♄ ☌ ♀ ☐ ♃.

Certainly, if the Queens Majeſty may or ſhall be thereto perſwaded, I think it likely to ſucceed; it hath ſo many weighty circumſtances in it, as I wiſh my ſelf as free from the conſideration thereof, as I have been from the intelligence of the deviſing hereof; I thought not good to have you ignorant; I know ♃ hath not allowed of it.

Sir, I thank you for the *French* ſtory which you lately ſent me by *Huddleſton*; the next that ſhall come to you, I think, will be Mr. *William Norris*.

Fernham, 13. *Auguſt*, 1569.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

Poſtſcript.

Immediately after your laſt ſervant departed with letters to you, making mention of our accord with the *French* Ambaſſador, came the two Merchants, *Patrick* and *Offly*, to *London*, with an accord propounded by the Marſhall *de Croſs*, but not accepted, for that thereby was required a general reſtitution of all things, which on our part indeed cannot be; and now the *French* Ambaſſador will not be here on Wedneſday, to enter into a new communication. I ſend you a late Proclamation, which you may impart there as you liſt.

SIR,

ALthough the bearer hereof, Mr. *Norris*, your Son, is well able to ſatisfie you of all our Occurrents here, both becauſe of his continual attendance about the Court, and for his underſtanding; yet in one onely thing I am moſt fit to inform you; That his ſtay here of long time hath been principally by my occaſion, whom I have at all times, of late, when he hath deſired to come over unto you, moved to ſtay, upon expectation to have ſome matter of more weight to be by him imparted unto you; but finding the ſame not ſo to fall out, and perceiving him the more importune to reſort unto you, ſince the repair of *Harcourte*, by whom he underſtood of your ſickneſs, I have thought it good no longer to defer him; and therefore without any other great matter, but to ſend him where he would be, he now cometh; and if I ſhould enter into writing of any particular things here paſt; he is as well able to expreſs the ſame, of his own knowledge, as I am by writing; and therefore you ſhall juſtly hold me excuſed, if I forbear my writing, having ſo ſufficient a perſon to make report of all things, as well ſuch as are meet for letters, as alſo not meet, for ſome reſpects. Of the matters of *Ireland*, he ſhall make you full report. Of *Scotland* he can do the like; of our Trade to *Hamburgh*, he is not ignorant; of the matters betwixt us and *France* for Arreſts of Merchandizes, I have made him Privy; and for the matters in this Court, he hath ſeen and underſtands as much thereof as I doubt not but ſhall ſatisfie; ſo as he ſhall ſerve you at this time in ſtead of many long letters: And ſo I end, with a good hope that he ſhall finde you well amended; whereof I ſhall alſo be glad to hear, wiſhing that the ſame might be joyned with the winning of *Poictiers*, of which we here live, on all ſides, in no ſmall expectation, though with ſundry meanings.

Your aſſured friend at command,

Southampton, 9. Sept. 1569.

W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

SIR,

SInce your Sons departing from *Southampton*, I have deferred to write untill this time, perceiving ſome likelihood of ſome greater matters to enſue, and yet the event thereof draws out at ſome length, which hath moved me to defer the ſame untill now; and doubting that otherwiſe rumors may be brought unto you, I have thought good to ſend away this bearer. You ſhall underſtand, that according as your Son was able to inform you, the Duke of *Norfolk* departed towards *London* about the 16. of this moneth, promiſing to return to the Court within 8. days; the Queens Majeſty having ſhewed her ſelf towards him offended with his dealing in the marriage, was newly offended with his departure; but being by me aſſured (as I earneſtly thought) that he would return, her Majeſty was quieted; contrary hereunto, notwithſtanding that he wrote on Thurſday the 23. that he would be at the Court before Munday, yet he went away ſecretly from *London* to *Reninghale* that ſame night, whereof we had no knowledge untill Sunday in the morning, that his own letters written on Friday at night at *Reninghale* came hither; by which he ſignified the cauſe of his departure to be a vehement fear, that he conceived by reports made to him, that he ſhould be committed to the Tower; and therefore he did withdraw himſelf, to have means to ſeek the Queens Majeſties favor, which he offered to do as a quiet humble ſubject. Hereupon, the ſame Sunday Mr. *Edmund Garret* was ſent to him, who found him at *Reninghale* on Munday at night, in a fervent Ague; ſo as the Duke required reſpite, untill Friday; with which anſwer Mr. *Garret* returned, and therewith the Queens Majeſty was offended, and began, by reaſon alſo of other lewd tales brought to her Majeſty, to enter into no ſmall jealouſie, and therefore ſent again Mr. *Garret*, with a peremptory commandment, that he ſhould come notwithſtanding his Ague; and ſo even now, whilſt I am writing, I have word, that Mr. *Garret* coming on Thurſday at night, found him ready to come of his own diſpoſition, and ſurely is now on the way, whereof I am glad; Firſt, for the reſpect of the State, and next for the Duke himſelf, whom of all ſubjects I honored and loved above the reſt, and ſurely found in him always matter ſo deſerving. Whilſt this matter hath been in paſſing, you muſt not think but the Queen of *Scots* was nearer looked to then before; and though evil willers to our State would have gladly ſeen ſome troubleſome iſſue of this matter; yet, God be thanked, I truſt they ſhall be deceived. The Queens Majeſty hath willed my Lord of *Arundel*, and my Lord of *Pembroke*, to keep their lodgings here, for that they were privy of this marriage intended, and did not reveal it to her Majeſty; but I think

none of them ſo did with any evil meaning; and of my Lord of *Pembroke's* intent herein, I can witneſs that he meant nothing but well to the Queens Majeſty; my Lord *Lumly* alſo is reſtrained; the Queens Majeſty hath alſo been grievouſly offended with my Lord *Leiceſter*; but conſidering he hath revealed all that, he ſaith, he knoweth of himſelf, her Majeſty ſpareth her diſpleaſure the more towards him; ſome diſquiets muſt ariſe, but I truſt not hurtful, for that her Majeſty ſaith, ſhe will know the truth, ſo as every one ſhall ſee his own fault, and ſo ſtay. Thus have I briefly run over a troubleſome paſſage full of fears and jealouſies; God ſend her Majeſty the quietneſs that ſhe of her goodneſs deſireth. My Lord of *Huntington* is joyned with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, in charge for the *Scotiſh* Queens ſafety. This 3. of *October*, the Duke is come to Mr. *Paul Wentworths* houſe, where Sir *Henry Nevill* hath charge to attend upon him; I hope, as I know no offence of untruth in him, ſo the event of things will be moderate; and ſo, for my part, I will endeavor all my power, even for the Queens Majeſties ſervice.

I know there will be in that Court large diſcourſes hereupon, but I truſt they ſhall lack their hope. The Plague continueth in *London*, the Term is prorogued untill *All-hallontide*.

All the former part of this letter hath been written theſe three days, and ſtayed untill the Dukes coming.

Yours aſſuredly,

3. *Octob.* 1569. W. Cecil.

To the Right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

EVen when this bearer was departing, I heard that *Crips*, your ſervant, was come from you as far as *Amiens* or *Abberville*, and there was faln ſick; but whether he hath any letters of yours, or no, I cannot tell. I do mean to ſend one thither to ſee his eſtate, and to bring your letters, which will come very late: and therefore I think we ſhall alſo have ſome later from you as ſoon as they ſhall come to my hands. This bearer ſeemeth to be in Religion good enough, but yet you know how he politickly ſerveth the *French* King. Howſoever any evil bouts ſhall come thither, at this preſent all the Realm is, as yet, as at any time it hath been; and no doubt of the contrary, and yet the Duke of *Norfolk* is in cuſtody, and ſo are the Earl of *Arundel*, and Lord *Lumley*, but the

Lord

Lord Steward onely keepeth his Chamber in the Court, and I truſt ſhall ſhortly do well; And ſo I end.

Windſor-Caſtle, 10. Oct. 1569. *Your aſſured friend*,
To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France. W. Cecil.

SIR,

AS you have with grief written your adviſes, ſo have they with grief been received of us, and yet in all theſe accidents of the world, we muſt accept, with humbleneſs, the Ordinances of Almighty God, and expect his further favor with patience, and with prayer, and interceſſion to move the Majeſty of God to draw his heavy hand over us, which is provoked by our ſins.

Of our late matters here, by the Queens Majeſties letter you ſhall further underſtand, which being as you ſee, long, I know you will well conſider and adviſe how to expreſs the ſame to the *French* King in the *French* tongue; wherein we have this diſadvantage, that their Miniſters ſpeak in their own tongue, and we in theirs.

Whatſoever you ſhall hear by lewd reports from hence, aſſure your ſelf that I know no cauſe to doubt, but that all things are and will continue quiet.

The Queen of *Scots*, I truſt, is and ſhall be ſo regarded; as no trouble will ariſe thereof; the Duke of *Norfolk* doth humbly accept the Queens Majeſties dealings with him; and I know of none that are thought to have favored his part, but either they plainly alter their opinions, and follow the Queens; or if they do not ſo inwardly, yet outwardly they yield to ſerve and follow her Majeſty order.

Before you ſent us your letters which you received from *Spain* concerning *Ireland*, we had knowledge of the ſame from the ſame place, and much more, and have made proviſion to our power. Theſe your ſiniſter accidents in *France* will cauſe ſome that were in a ſlumber here to awake; and ſo beſeeching you to pardon me, if my letter be haſty and very ſhort;

Windſor-Caſtle, 26. Oct. 1566. *Yours aſſuredly*, W. Cecil.

To the Right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR

SIR,

THis bearer, your Footman, having brought your letters hither a good while ſince is deſirous to return, though I think both the ſeaſon of the year and the weather will not ſuffer him to make much haſte, yet I have thought good to let you partly to underſtand of the ſtate of things here.

About the midſt of the laſt moneth, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, aſſembling themſelves with ſome Companies (after refuſall to come in to the Lord Preſident) came to *Dureſme*, where they have made Proclamations, in their own names, for reformations of the diſorders of the Realm (as they termed it) and for reſtitution of the ancient Cuſtomes and liberties of the Church, and ſo directed the ſame generally to all of the old and Catholike Religion. In their Companies they have Prieſts of their Faction, who, to pleaſe the people thereabouts, give them Maſſes, and ſome ſuch traſh of the ſpoils and waſtes where they have been; and upon the ſudden having levyed of all ſorts (as it is thought) of Footmen about four thouſand, ſimply appointed for the wars, and of Horſemen about a thouſand, wherein indeed all their ſtrength is; and with theſe numbers (before the Earl of *Suſſex* could gather numbers meet to reſiſt them, they came down to *Todcaſter*, *Ferry-brigs* and *Doncaſter*, being twelve miles, or thereabouts, wide from *Yorke*, and were not indeed reſiſted, untill at *Doncaſter* the Lord *Darcy* of the *North*, with certain numbers, which he was leading to *Yorke*, did very valiantly repulſe a number of them; hereupon they are retired to *Richmondſhire*, and know not what to enterpriſe by their ſtragling in this ſort.

The Earl of *Suſſex* is at *Yorke*, where Sir *Ralph Sadler* is, and hath levyed the power of *York-ſhire* againſt them; the Lord *Hunſdon* is ſent to *Berwick*, and to the Borders, to levy the like there; Sir *John Forſter* to do the like in his marches, the Lord *Scroope* alſo in his Wardenry, the Earl of *Cumberland* and the Lord *Wharton*, to joyn with their Forces in *Weſtmerland*, and that ſide; and beſides, the Lord Admiral with the Forces of *Lincoln-ſhire*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, with other numbers of *Nottinghamſhire*, *Darbyſhire*, *Warwick-ſhire*, and other parts of the South, are appointed Lieutenants of the Army, who are to joyn with my Lord of *Suſſex*; and to do further as ſhall be found meet. And by this means you ſhall hear ſhortly, I doubt not, of the confuſion of this Rebellious enterpriſe, who, as you may perceive, by the Queens Majeſties Proclamation, are proclaimed thorough the Realm, as they have behaved themſelves.

The

The Queens Majeſty hath, beſides, ready upon all occaſions an Army of fifteen thouſand near to her own perſon.

The Queen of *Scots* is removed from *Tutbery* to *Coventry*, where attends on her the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, and *Huntington*.

Under the Conduct of the Army of the Southern parts is the Viſcount *Hereford*, with the power of *Staffordſhire*, very well appointed; and divers Gentlemen of credit and ſervice of the Court, and other places, of themſelves, are gone thither to ſerve under the ſaid Lieutenants.

In company with thoſe ſaid Rebels are not many Gentlemen of name, but *Norton* an old man, who carryeth the Croſs, *Markinfield*, *Swynbourne*, and an Uncle of the Earl of *Weſtmerland*, named *Chriſtopher Nevill*; all the Realm, and all the Nobillity, beſides theſe onely two Rebels, are as obedient as ever they were, and ſurely ſo like to be, whatſoever our ill-willers may report.

2 *Novemb.* 1569. *Yours aſſured*,

To the right honorable, *Sir* Henry Norris *Knight*, *the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador*, &c. W. Cecil.

SIR,

I Have forborn theſe two or three days to write unto you, becauſe I could not by occaſion of ſome ſickneſs uſe my own hand, and alſo becauſe I would not detain here any longer this bearer Mr. *Rogers*, who is both ſerviceable for you, and deſirous to be returned thither. I have thought good to diſpatch him towards you, who can inform you of ſuch news as we have here; and that he may the better do it, I have imparted to him ſuch things as I think meet for you to know; and for that I am not well able at preſent to write any more, I truſt you will be for this time ſatisfied with ſuch declaration as this bearer ſhall make unto you. Thus fare you heartily well, From *Windſor* the 10. *Nov.* 1569.

I think long to hear from you, becauſe I have not received any letters from you ſince the tenth of the laſt month, which *D'amons* brought; but I doubt not but ſome of yours be on the way, whereby we may underſtand how things paſs there.

Since the writing hereof, came yeſterday your Lackqueywith letters of the of wherein you make mention that *Lodowick* the Count *Naſſau* ſhould be ſlain, which I truſt is not ſo, becauſe of other letters which I have ſeen, that came hither by the way of *Rochell*, that teſtifie nothing of his death, but great praiſe of his ſervice, the day of the battel. At this preſent I am unable to write by reaſon of ſome ſick neſs-

neſs, as this bearer can report. Herewith I ſend you a copy in writing of ſuch things as after long debate betwixt the *French* Ambaſſador and us hath been here accorded; which I wiſh may be as well performed on their part as they have promiſed. I pray you, Sir, commend me to my good Lady, and your Sons.

12. *Novemb. at night.*. *Yours aſſuredly,*
W. Cecil.

To the Right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador,* &c.

SIR,

THough I think this bringer will deliver you my letter, yet I know not with what readineſs he will impart to you our ſtate here; and therefore have thought good to advertiſe you thus much, that, thanked be God, our Northern Rebellion is fallen flat to the ground and ſcattered away. The Earls are fled into *Northumberland*, ſeeking all ways to eſcape, but they are roundly purſued; Sir *John Forſter* and Sir *Henry Percy* in one company, my Lord of *Suſſex* in another. The 16. hereof they broke up their ſorry Army, and the 18. they entred into *Northumberland*, the 19. into the Mountains, they ſcattered all their Footmen, willing them to ſhift for themſelves; and of a thouſand Horſemen there fled but five hundred. By this time they be fewer, and I truſt either taken or fled into *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Murray* is in good readineſs, to chaſe them to their ruine; yeſternight came Mr. *Madder*, and upon the next letters from my Lord of *Suſſex*, I will ſend away *Crips* or ſome other. The Queens Majeſty hath had a notable Tryal of her whole Realm, and ſubjects, in this time, wherein ſhe hath had ſervice readily of all ſorts, without reſpect of Religion.

Yours aſſuredly,
Windſor, 24. Decemb. W. Cecil.
To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador,* &c.

SIR,

I Have long time determined to ſend away this bearer, your ſervant, *Henry Crips*, but my delay hath grown of a deſire that I had to ſee ſome good iſſue of this Rebellion, which as it hath had a time of declination, and is now ſuppreſſed; ſo could I not well before this time ſend this bearer away, who now bringeth her Majeſties letters unto you, by which

which you ſhall underſtand how her pleaſure is, that you ſhould impart the events thereof in that Court; and indeed hitherto we have no certain and manifeſt proofs that it ſhould have any other ground, but as it is expreſſed in her Majeſties letters; nevertheleſs, we have diſcovered ſome tokens, and we hear of ſome words uttered by the Earl of *Northumberland*, that maketh us to think this Rebellion had more Branches, both of our own and ſtrangers, then did appear; and I truſt the ſame will be found out, though, perchance, when all are known in ſecret manner, all may not be notified.

Of all other Occurrents, I know your Son, Mr. *William*, and other your ſervants hereto doth advertiſe you; and therfore I pray you to bear with my ſhortneſs, for I am almoſt ſmothered with buſineſs. We look to hear of the apprehenſion of more of the Rebels; I ſend you extracts of our letters out of the North, as of late time they have come.

Windſor-Caſtle, 7. *Jan.* 1569. *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, *Sir* Henry Norris *Knight*,
the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, &c.

Advertiſements from Lyexham, 22. *Decemb.* 1569.

THe two Rebellious Rebels went into *Liddeſdale* in *Scotland* yeſternight, where *Martin Elwood*, and others, that have given pledges to the Regent of *Scotland*, did raiſe their forces againſt them; being conducted by black *Ormeſton*, an Out-law of *Scotland*, that was a principal murtherer of the King of *Scots*, where the fight was offered, and both parties lighted from their horſes; and in the end, *Elwood* ſaid to *Ormeſton*, he would be ſorry to enter deadly feud with him by bloodſhed; but he would charge him and the reſt before the Regent, for keeping of the Rebels; and if he did not put them out of the Country, the next day he would do his worſt againſt them; whereupon the two Earls were driven to leave *Liddeſdale*, and to flye to one of the *Armeſtronges* a *Scot* upon the batable on the borders between *Liddeſdale* and *England*; the ſame day the *Liddeſdale* men ſtole the horſes of the Counteſs of *Northumberland*, and her two women, and ten others of their Company; ſo as the Earls being gone, the Lady of *Northumberland* was left there on foot at *John* of the Sides houſe in a Cottage, not to be compared to many a Dog-kennel in *England*; at their departing from her, they went not above fifty horſe, and the Earl of *Weſtmerland*, to be the more unknown,

changed his Coat of Plate and ſword with *John* of the Sides, and departed like a *Scotiſh* Borderer. The reſt of the Rebels are partly taken in the Weſt Borders of *England*, and partly ſpoiled by the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Borderers.

By letters of the 24.

The Rebels be driven to change their names, their Horſes and apparel, and to ride like *Liddeſdale* men.

The Regent of *Scotland* will be this night upon the Borders of *Liddeſdale*.

The Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Scroop*, and Mr. *Leonard Dacre* have ſhewed themſelves very Honorable and diligent in their ſervice at the Rebels entring into the Weſt Marches; and upon the ſcaling of the Rebels, there be great numbers of them taken there.

There be in every of the Marches againſt *Scotland* ſundry Bands of Horſemen, and ſhot laid, if they ſhall enter into the Realm again.

By letters of the laſt of December.

The Regent of *Scotland* is gone from *Jedworth* to *Edenburgh*, and hath taken the Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſix of his men with him.

Before his departure from *Jedworth* he ſent for the Gentlemen of *Tividale*, to come before him, where all came ſaving the Lord of *Farnehurſt*, and the Lord of *Bucklugh*, whereupon the Regent rode towards them, but they hearing thereof ſuddainly rode away.

Robert Collingwood, *Ralph Swynton*, with others of their company, were taken in Eaſt *Tividale*, and delivered to the Regent, who re-delivered them to their takers, and charged them for their ſafe keeping; *Egremont Ratcliff* with certain with him remain about *Liddeſdale*.

And it is thought the Counteſs of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Weſtmerland*, *Norton*, *Markenfield*, *Swynborne*, and *Tempeſt*, are removed out *Liddeſdale* to the Lords of *Fernhurſt* and *Bucklugh*.

SIR,

SIR,

I Doubt not but the report of the cruel murther of the Regent in *Scotland* will be diverſly reported in thoſe parts; and diverſly alſo received, by ſome with gladneſs, and by ſome with grief, as I am ſure it ſhall be of you; the manner of it was thus (as I have been advertiſed) the 22. of the laſt moneth, the Regent coming thorough the Town of *Lithgo*, which is in the midway between *Sterling* and *Edenburgh*, having in his company about a hundred perſons, was ſtricken with a Courrier about the Navell, with the Pellet coming out about his Hucklebone, which alſo ſlew a horſe behinde him; and of this wound he dyed the next day afterward within night; the murtherer was one *Hambleton* of *Bothwell-Hall*, who lay ſecretly in a houſe to attempt this miſchief, having ſhut the doors towards the ſtreet in ſuch ſort, as no man could enter on the foreſide to take him; and ſo he eſcaped on the backſide, where he had a horſe to ſerve his turn, although he was purſued; what is like to follow miſerably to that Land, I dare not judge; but do fear that the death of ſo good a man will prove *Initium multorum malorum*. At the writing hereof, I know not what is done or intended; but ſome write from thence, That the Earls of *Marr* and *Morton*, and other friends to the young King, are come to *Edenburgh*, and do in the Kings name preſerve the State, and do purpoſe to have the Land ruled by four Regents; and one to be a Lieutenant for the wars to execute their directions; a matter more probable in talk than in effect; as I ſhall hereafter underſtand more, ſo will I write; It hapned that at this time, Sir *Henry Gates*, and the Marſhal of *Berwick* were at *Edenburgh*, having been at *Sterling* with the Regent, the Fryday before, for the demanding in the Queens Majeſties name, of the Earl of *Northumberland*, and other the Rebels, and by direction of the Regent they attended at *Edenburgh* for anſwer to be given the day of his death, which now is, as our Lawyers call it, *ſine die*.

Mr. *Randolph* went from hence towards *Scotland*, the 29. upon knowledge of the hurt and doubt of his life.

The ſame day alſo came *Montlnet* to her Majeſties preſence with the *French* Ambaſſador, bringing his letters dated the 27. of *December*, at which time I think they underſtand not of the ſtay of our Rebellion. The ſum of *Montlnets* meſſage conſiſted upon theſe two heads, requeſt for reſtitution, and liberty of the Queen of *Scots*, and a declaration of the Kings inclination to peace with his ſubjects, and their diſguiſing with him by treating and ſuing for peace, and yet amaſſing of new Forces in *Almaine*, and ſeeking alſo to ſurpriſe the Kings Towns, as *Burdeaux*, and

other like, whereupon the King requireth the Queens Majesty not to favor his Rebels if they should seek any further succours from hence, as they have done, as persons unworthy of any favor.

They have made great instance to be answered for the first matter, but the Queens Majesty hath hitherto deferred them; but I think upon Munday next they shall have audience.

I forgat to shew you, that in the request for the Queen of *Scots*, he desired liberty to go to her, and from thence to pass into *Scotland*, which thing would not be granted unto him.

Upon the death of the Regent, the Earl of *Sussex* and Mr. *Sadler* were admonished to stay there, for that it was thought good that Mr. *Sadler* should have gone from thence into *Scotland*; but they both being come upon former licence near the City on the way, upon desire to see her Majesty, came hither yesterday unlooked for; and although in the beginning of this Northern Rebellion her Majesty sometimes uttered some misliking of the Earl, yet this day she meaning to deal very Princely with him, in presence of her Council, charged him with such things as she had heard, to cause her misliking, without any note of mistrust towards him for his fidelity; whereupon, he did with such humbleness, wisdom, plainness, and dexterity, answer her Majesty, as both she and all the rest were fully satisfied, and he adjudged by good proofs to have served in all this time faithfully, and so circumspectly, as it manifestly appeareth, that if he had not so used himself in the beginning, the whole North part had entred into the Rebellion.

Usque ad 3. Febr.

We have now letters out of *Scotland*, that the Nobility which favoreth the young King have assembled themselves, and made a reconciliation of divers persons that had particular quarrels one against another; and as they pretend, they will all joyn firmely in the revenge of the Murther, and defence of their King; the Lord *Grange*, who keepeth the Castle of *Edenburgh*, is reconciled to the Earl *Moreton*, and become one of this Bonde, and so doth *Leddington* also offer to be another.

The Duke of *Chastilherault* is streighter kept then he was before; and it is commonly reportd, that the *Hambletons* were the workers of this murther; thus much being known of certain, that the murtherer was a neer kinsman of the Dukes; and that the Peece wherewith he murthered the Regent, and the spare horses whereupon he escaped, did all belong to the Abbot of *Arbroth*, the Dukes second Son, and the murtherer was received into *Hambleton* the Dukes house; all which, I trust, God will see revenged.

The

The Rebellion moved in the Weſt parts of *Ireland* this laſt Summer, being alſo cheriſhed with comfort out of *Spaine*, is fully ſuppreſſed; and the Country reduced to ſuch quietneſs and obedience, as the like hath not been in thoſe parts theſe many yeers; the heads being all taken and reduced to obedience, ſaving one onely, named *Fitz Maurice*, who wandreth in the deſerts without any ſuccor, making means to be received to mercy, but he is of ſo little value, as it is refuſed unto him.

For your own revocation from thence, I am not unmindful, but have attempted the ſame; and ſo mean to continue it, as I hope you ſhall ſhortly receive comfort.

Uſque ad 5. Febr.

This day, the 6. of *Febr.* the *French* Ambaſſador came with *Montlovet* to her Majeſty, to require anſwer to their demands, which were three; Firſt, to have the Queen of *Scots* delivered and reſtored; Secondly, that *Montlovet* might repair to the Queen of *Scots*; Thirdly, that he might repair into *Scotland*: To all theſe her Majeſty, having her whole Council in her preſence, That, for the firſt, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had uſed the Queen of *Scots* with more honor and favor, then any Prince, having like cauſe would have done; and though ſhe was not bound to make account to any Prince of her doings, yet ſhe would impart to the King, her good brother, ſome reaſonable conſideration of her doings; and ſo ſhe ended her anſwer to that. The other two requeſts depended ſo upon the firſt, as ſhe ſaid ſhe could not accord thereunto; and ſo though ſhe uſed good loving ſpeech to ſatisfie him, yet in brief they departed without obtaining their requeſts, as ſhortly you ſhall underſtand more at length by the next Meſſenger, and letters, which in this behalf ſhall be ſent unto you. We hear that two Ships of war of St. *Malloes*, under the conduct of the Lord *Flemings* brother, arrived in *Don Brittons Frith* the tenth of *January*, and have, as I think, victualled the Caſtle of *Don Britton*, whereof will follow ſome further annoyance to *Scotland*. And thus I am forced to end for the preſent, by reaſon of multitude of other affairs.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

Hampton-Court, Feb. 7. 1568.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident with the* French *King.*

SIR,

SIR,

AFter all the other letters in this Packet were ſealed up, your honeſt ſervant, Mr. *Rogers*, arrived here with your letters; of the contents whereof, concerning the crazed ſhaken Treaty of peace betwixt the King and his ſubjects, I had plainly heard four or five days paſt from *Rochel*. Your intelligences accord with the like, as I have received from *Rochel*; and as you do expreſs to us the dangerous practices of our Adverſaries there, ſo I aſſure you the ſame are not by Councellors here neglected, although I can give no aſſurance how they ſhall be avoided; and yet I would not doubt, but with Gods goodneſs, their whole deſigns ſhould prove fruſtrate if our Councels might take place.

I have named to the Queens Majeſty two to be your ſucceſſors, both to be well liked, if their livelihoods were anſwerable to their other qualities; the one is Mr. *Francis Walſingham*, the other is Mr. *Hen. Killigrew*, who is indeed in livelihood much inferior. If I can procure that either of them, or ſome other, might relieve you, I aſſure you there ſhall not lack any good will in me.

Hampton-Court, 7. Febr. 1569.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

YOur laſt letters are thus come to my hands; *Crips* came with thoſe of yours the 9. then *Neal* with thoſe of the 25. of the laſt month, and yeſterday came the *French* Ambaſſadors Secretary with thoſe of the firſt of *March*; by all which is manifeſt the inward natural care that you take for the Queens Majeſty, and therein her Highneſs accepteth your zeal and duty moſt thankfully. And yet, I know not by what means, her Majeſty is not much troubled with the opinion of danger; nevertheleſs, I and others cannot be but greatly fearful for her, and do, and will do, that in us may lye to underſtand, thorough Gods aſſiſtance, the attempts; as for ☿ ☉ *D* many here, and the moſt of this Council think the peril no leſs, but rather greater, if ♀ ☌ ♃ *D* forasmuch ſhould ⊢ ☉ 7: ☽ ☍ ♅ 9: ♈ li ☿ ☿ Since the death of the Regent, the Borderers have maintained our Rebels, and invaded *England*; wherefore for which purpoſe my Lord of *Suſſex* is now ordered with an Army to in-

invade them and make revenge; whereof the *Scots* hearing do make all means they can to be reconciled, but they muſt feel the ſword and the fire-brand; and becauſe I will end my letter, I will deliver to this bearer a ſhort memorial of words to ſerve him for informing of you of the things of our State; and ſo with my moſt hearty commendations, I end, being ſorry that as yet I cannot perfect my intent for your return.

Hampton-Court, 22. March, 1569. *Your aſſured friend*, W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight*, *the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador*, *Reſident in* France.

SIR,

BY the Queens Majeſty long letter you ſhall perceive her Majeſties meaning in ſuch ſort, as I need not to repeat or enlarge the ſame; and the ſooner that her Majeſty may have anſwer hereof, the better ſhe will be content, eſpecially if the anſwer ſhall be good.

I ſend to you the Copies of the advertiſements of my Lord of *Suſſex* journey into *Scotland* the 17. of *April*, and returning the 22. his Lordſhip entred the 27. to beſiege (as I think) *Hume* Caſtle, for the ſame hath been the receptacle of all the Rebels; but at the writing hereof, I am not aſcertained what his Lordſhip hath done.

Of late the Biſhop of *Roſs* cauſed one of his ſervants ſecretly to procure the printing of a Book in *Engliſh*, whereof before eight leaves could be finiſhed, intelligence was had; which Book tendeth to ſet forth to the world, that the Queen of *Scots* was not guilty of her husbands death, a parable in many mens opinion; next, that ſhe is a lawful heir to the Crown, and herewith ſuch reaſons inſerted as make unſound concluſions for the Queens Majeſties preſent ſtate.

Beſides this, a notable lye is there uttered, That all the noble men that heard her cauſe, did judge her innocent; and therefore made ſuite to her Majeſty, that ſhe might marry with my Lord of *Norfolk*.

With theſe and ſuch like enterpriſes, her Majeſty hath been grieved with the ſaid Biſhop, whereupon ſhe hath the longer kept him from her preſence; but I think he will be ſpoken withall to morrow, and ſo within two or three days, it is likely, he ſhall have acceſs to her Majeſty.

The Secretary in *Scotland* hath ſo diſcovered himſelf for the Queen of *Scots*, as he is the inſtrument to increaſe her party, having ſuch credit with *Grange*, who keepeth *Edenburgh* Caſtle, as the Duke of *Chaſtilherault*, the Lord *Herries*, &c. are now at liberty, and thereby the party

for

for the King is diminiſhed, you can judge what is ment to be done; and I wiſh her Majeſty to take ſuch a way herein, as may preſerve her eſtate, the device and execution whereof is found, upon conſultation, very difficult, and yet in all evils the leaſt is to be choſen.

My Lord of *Worceſter* and my Lord of *Huntington* are choſen Knights of the Order.

I cannot procure any reſolution for your revocation, untill it may be ſeen what will fall out there of the war betwixt the King and his ſubjects, whereof daily there is expectation of ſome iſſue; and the *French* Ambaſſador doth conſtantly affirm that the peace ſhall follow: And ſo I end.

Yours aſſuredly,

Hampton-Court, 4. May, 1570. W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident with the* French *King.*

A note of a Journey into Tividale *by the Earl of* Suſſex, *her Majeſties Lieutenant in the North, begun the* 17. *of* April, 1570. *and ending the* 22. *of the ſame.*

THe 17. of *April*, 1570. the Earl of *Suſſex*, and the Lord *Hunſdon*, Governor of *Berwick*, with all the Garriſons and power of the Eaſt Marches, came to *Warke*, and entered into *Tividale* in *Scotland* the 18. at the break of the day, and burnt all Caſtles and Towns as they went, untill they came to the Caſtle of *Moſs*, ſtanding in a ſtrong Marſh, and belonging to the Lord of *Fernhurſt*, which they burnt and razed, and ſo burnt the Country untill they came to *Craling*.

The ſame day, Sir *John Foſter*, with all the Garriſons and force of the middle marches, entred into *Tividale* and *Expeſgate* head 16. miles from *Warke*, and ſo burnt all the Country, untill they came to a ſtrong Caſtle, called in the poſſeſſion of the mother of the Lord of *Fernhurſt*, which he burnt and razed, and ſo burnt all other Caſtles and Towns, untill he came to *Craling*, where both Companies met, and ſo went up the River of *Tivit*, and burnt and threw down all the Caſtles and Towns upon that River, untill they came to *Godworth*, where they lodged.

This day the Lord of *Chesford*, Warden of the middle marches, with the principal men of his kinde, who had never in perſon received the Rebels, nor invaded *England*, and yet had evil men that had done both, came in to the Lord Lieutenant, and ſubmitted himſelf, and offered to abide order for his mens offences, whereupon he was received as a friend, and he and all his were free from any hurt.

The

The 19. the Army was divided into two parts, whereof the one did paſs the River of *Tivit*, and burnt and razed the Caſtle of *Fernhurſt*, and all other Caſtles and Towns of the Lord of *Fernhurſt*, *Hunthill*, and *Bederoll*, and ſo paſſed on to *Minte*; and the other part of the Army burnt in like ſort on the other ſide of the River *Tivit*, untill he came to *Hawick*, where it was intended to have lodged that night, for that the Bailiffs had the ſame morning offered to receive the Army, and had therefore their Town aſſured; but at the coming thither of the Army they had unthetched their houſes, and burnt the Thetch in the ſtreets, and were all fled, ſo as no perſon could well enter for ſmoak, which cauſed lack of victuals, lodging, and horſemeats; and therefore the fire began by themſelves in the Straw burnt the whole Town, after ſaving *Donn Lamorecks* Caſtle, which for his ſake was ſpared, and all the goods of the Town in it. The 20. the Army went to *Branſhaw*, the Lord of *Bucklonghs* houſe, which was wholly overthrown with Powder, and there divided and burnt, on the North the River of *Tivit*, more into the inland, all the Caſtles and Towns in that Country, which belonged wholly to the Lord of *Bucklough* and his kinſmen, and returned that night to *Jedworth*. The 21. the Army divided, and one part went to the River of *Bowbeat*, and burnt all on both ſides of that River; and the other part went to the River of *Caile*, and burnt all on both ſides of the River, and met neer to *Kelſaw*, where the Lord Lieutenant lodged that night of purpoſe to beſet *Hume* Caſtle in the night, and the Lord *Hunſdon* and the other part went to *Warke*, to bring the Ordnance thence in the morning, which was diſappointed by the negligence of ſuch as were left in charge, who ſuffered the carriage horſes to return after the Ordnance was brought thither; ſo as for lack of horſes to draw the Ordnance, the Army was forced to return to *Berwick* the 22. All which time there was never any ſhew of reſiſtance. And the ſame time the Lord *Scroope* entred *Scotland*, from the Weſt Marches, the 18, *&c.* During which time the Marches in all places were ſo guarded, as the *Scots* that did not ſhew themſelves to offer fight in the field, durſt not offer to enter into *England*; ſo as in the abſence of the Army there was not one houſe burnt, nor own Cow taken in *England*; and it is conceived by ſuch as know the enemies part of *Tividale*, that there is razed, overthrown, and burnt in this journey, above fifty ſtrong Caſtles and Piles, and above 300 Villages; ſo as there be few in that Country that have received the Rebels, or invaded *England*, that have either Caſtle for themſelves, or houſes for their Tenants, beſides the loſs and ſpoils of their other goods, wherein nothing is reckoned of that was done in the other parts by the Lord *Scroope*, for that it was not done within the County of *Tividale*, &c.

The Rode of the Lord Scroope, *Warden of the Weſt marches of* England, *into* Scotland.

Who the 17. of *April* at ten of the clock at night, with three thouſand Horſe and Foot, came to *Elleſingham* on the Wedneſday at night, and burned that Town in the morning, being from *Carlile* twenty miles.

On Thurſday he burned beſides *Hoddom* the *Maymes*, the Town and all the houſes, which is the Lord *Herryes*, and from *Carlile* ſixteen miles.

That day they burned *Trayle-trow*, which is the Lord *Maxwells*, from *Carlile* 16. miles.

They burned the Town of *Reywell*, which is the Lord *Coplands*, and the Lord *Homeyns*, from *Carlile* eighteen miles.

They burned the houſe of *Copewell*, and the Demeſne of the Lord *Coplands*, from *Carlile* nineteen miles.

They burned the Town of *Blackſhieve*, which is the Lord *Maxwells*, from *Carlile* 20. miles.

Item, The Town of *Sherrington*, of the ſame Lords, twenty miles.

Item, The blank end of the ſame Lords, twenty miles.

Item, The Town of *Lowzwood* of the ſame Lords, twenty miles.

Goods taken the ſame Rode, one thouſand Neat, and one thouſand Sheep and Goats.

Of the *Scots*, are taken one hundred Horſmen, within a mile of *Dunnforeſt*: Some ſay that *Swynborne* is taken.

SIR,

BY letters from my Lords of *Suſſex* and *Hunſdon* of the 29. of *April*, it is advertiſed that the Caſtle of *Hume* being beſieged by them, and the Battery laid the 27. of *April*, the day following the Captain ſent out a Trumpet to deſire a Parlie, which granted; the Caſtle deſired licence to ſend a Meſſenger to the Lord *Hume* to know his pleaſure what they ſhould do, whereupon it was agreed a Meſſenger ſhould paſs; and one was ſent with him to ſee that no delay ſhould be uſed; the Meſſenger at his return brought Commiſſion from the Lord *Hume* to deliver the Caſtle, ſimply, without condition, truſting to their Honors for a favourable dealing with his men; whereupon the Caſtle was received, and all the Armor and Weapons, and the people licenced to depart without Bag or Baggage; and now the ſame remaineth newly fortified, to the Queens Majeſties charge, more ſtronger then it was before, to the intent the Rebels may not have their refuge thither as they had before. By other letters of the firſt of *May* from my Lord of *Suſſex*, it is advertiſed, that the moſt

part

part of the March of East *Tividale*, *Eſdale*, *Eweſdale*, *Wawcopdale*, and other parts upon the Borders from the East to the Weſt Seas, affirm their continuance of obedience to their King, deſire the Amity betwixt both Realms, offer to ſpend their lives in the reſiſting of any Forreign power that ſhall offer the diſturbance of either; refuſe dependence upon the *French*; offer to depend upon the Queens Majeſtie; and in their actions have refuſed to receive the Rebells, or to aſſiſt the invaders of *England*; the like whereof all others do offer that acknowledge that authority. The contrary part openly receive the Rebels, maintain the invaders of *England*, ſhare in their actions and ill meaning to *England*, and ſeek dependence and maintenance of the *French*. The Earls of *Morton*, *Murray*, and *Glencarne*, with others of the Kings Council, prepared to be at *Edenburgh* the 29. of the laſt, whereupon the Duke of *Chaſtilherault* and *Huntley* went to *Lithgo* the 28. to ſtop their meeting; and the 29. *Morton* went out of *Edenburgh* with a thouſand men to meet the other Earls a By-way, and ſo came together that night to *Edenburgh* with all their Forces, or to fight for it; in which time the Lords of *Hume* and *Liddington* be entred the Caſtle with *Grange*; ſo as it is likely they will try ſhortly by the ſword which ſide ſhall have the Authority.

W. Cecil,

IT may pleaſe you to be advertiſed, according to my Lord Ieutenants direction, I entered into *Scotland* on Tueſday at night laſt, the 18. of this *April*, and on Wedneſday at night encamped at *Hecleſenghам*, within *Hoddom*, diſtant from *Carlile* 18. miles, and within *Scotland* 12. miles; and on Thurſday in the morning I ſent forth *Simon Muſgrave*, appointed by me as General of the Horſemen, to burn and ſpoile the Country, and to meet me at a place called *Cambretreys*; and the ſaid *Simon* burnt the Towns of *Hoddome* and the *Maynes*, *Troltrow*, *Revel* and *Calpoole*, the Town of *Blackſhaw*, *Sherrington*, the Banck end, within three miles of *Dumfrieſe*, *Lowgher*, and *Lowgherwood*, and *Heckſſengham*, which Towns were of the Lands of the Lord *Herryes* and *Maxwell*, the Lord of *Cockpoole*, and the Lord of *Holmends*; and as the ſaid *Simon* and his company came to old *Cockpool*, there was the Lord *Maxwell* with his Forces, and the Inhabitants of *Dumfrieſe* aſſembled, and skirmiſhed with the Couriers, and compelled them to return unto the ſaid *Simon*; and then the ſaid *Simon* marched unto the Town of *Blackſhaw* with his Company, where the Lord *Maxwell* was in order, and his Forces; and the ſaid *Simon* and *Fargus Graime*, with the number of a hundred Horſemen, did give the charge upon the ſaid Lord *Maxwell*, and made him

flee, and his Company alſo; In which fight there were a hundred priſoners taken, whereof the principal was the Alderman of *Dumfrieſe*, and 16. of the Burgeſſes thereof, the reſt were Footmen; the chaſe was followed within one mile of *Dumfrieſe*; after which conflict, the ſaid *Simon* returned to *Blackſhaw* aforeſaid, and burnt it, and ſeiſed a great number of Cattle, and delivered the ſame unto certain Gentlemen and others to convey unto me; and he, the ſaid *Simon*, Rode with a hundred Horſmen to burn the Banck end *Lowgher* and *Lowgherwood*; and as the ſaid Gentlmen, with their Company, came to a ſtreight place neer unto Old-Cockpool, the ſaid Lord *Maxwell*, the Lord *Carlile*, the Lords of *Holme-ends*, *Closburne Lorgg*, *Hempsfeild*, *Cowhill*, and *Tenoll*, with the number of four hundred horſemen, and ſix hundred footmen, charged them very ſore, and forced them to alight and draw their company to a ſtrong place, to abide the charge of their enemies; and ſo they remained untill the ſaid *Simon* came unto them, and alighted, and put his Company in Order, and ſet his Horſe between his Company and the Sea, and ſo ſtood in order to receive the enemy; and in this ſort continued charging, and receiving their charges, the ſpace of three hours, I being at *Cambretreys*, aforeſaid, a place before appointed between me and the ſaid *Simon* for his relief (being diſtant from him three miles) underſtanding of ſome diſtreſs ſent my Band of Horſmen, with my brother *Edward Scroope*, and a hundred and fifty ſhot with Mr. *Awdley*, and Mr. *Herbert*, to their relief; and the ſaid *Simon*, upon the coming of the ſaid Band of horſemen and Shot, gave the enemies the charge with all his Forces, whereupon they fled; in which flight there was taken a hundred priſoners, whereof ſome were of the petty Lords of the Country; but the Lord *Maxwell*, the Lord *Carlile*, the Lord *Johnſon*, and the reſt before named, eſcaped by the ſtrength of the Lord of *Cockpools* houſe, and a great Wood, and a Maureſs that was neer there adjoyning; and ſo the ſaid *Simon* repaired to me with his Company, and ſo we returned home. And thus, for this time, I commit you to the Almighty.

Yours aſſured to command,

Carlile, 21. April, 1570. H. Scroop.

Poſtſcript.

Drumlangricks ſervants and Tenants, whom I had given charge that they ſhould not be dealt withall, for that he favored the Kings faction, and the Queens Majeſties, were as cruel againſt us as any others. Sir, I have written to my Lord Lieutentant for 500. men, but for fourteen dayes; and with them, I will undertake to march to *Dumfrieſe*, and lye in that Town, and burn and ſpoil it, if the Queen Majeſties think it good; for the open receipt of her Majeſties Rebels is there manifeſt.

SIR,

SIR,

MY leasure serveth me as I was wont to have it, all my time at command of others, and none for my self, and little for my private friends; by the Queens Majesties letter, you may perceive the state of things here; God send her Majesty a good issue of this *Scotish* matter, whereinto the entry is easie, but the passage within doubtful, and I fear the end will be monstrous. By your letters of late time, it hath seemed that the opinion was for the Queens Majesty to be delivered of the *Scottish* Queen; but surely few here among us conceive it feasible with surety.

My Lord of *Sussex* useth his charge very honorably and circumspectly upon the Frontiers, where indeed he hath made revenge; and that only, almost, upon the guilty. I do send you herewith a printed thing or two sent me from *Scotland*; and so take my leave, wishing, for your own sake, that peace might be seen there, so as you might bring it; for which purpose I trust surely her Majesty will send one for you.

23. *May*, 1570. *Yours most assured*,
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight*, *the Queens Majesties Ambassador*, &c.

SIR,

THis bearer came hither with good speed I do send you herewith a note of my Lord of *Sussex* his last letters from *Berwick*. I do also send you in writing the Copy of that which the *French* Ambassador lately sent thither, containing the sum of that which lately passed here betwixt the Queens Majesty and him, wherein truely he hath not much differed from that which was accorded. The Bishop of *Ross* departed on Friday last to the *Scotish* Queen to deal with her, that some of her part might come hither out of *Scotland* to treat of her cause, and that Arms might cease on both sides. Since his going thither, the Queens Majesty understandeth of a practice, that he had two dayes before his departure, with a noble man of this Realm, being a professed Papist, contrary to his manner of dealing with the Queens Majesty, whereupon her Majesty is not a little moved against him; and therefore I think she will not deal with him at his return. We look daily that peace will there be made, though we see not how it shall continue; but I trust thereby you shall be revoked, and I think Mr. *Walsingham* shall come in your place, I have no more

more at this present. I received, yesterday, a letter from *Paris* of the 19. of *May*, but I did before that receive another of the 24.

Hampton-Court, 8. *June*, 1570. *Yours assuredly*,
W. Cecil.

To the Right honorable, *Sir* Henry Norris *Knight*,
the Queens Majesties Ambassador, &c.

By Letters from Berwick, 3. *June.*

THe Marshal of *Berwick*, being at *Edenburgh* with certain Forces, dealt with the Earls of *Grange* and *Liddington*, to procure a surcease of Arms, which taking no effect, he went with the Noblemen of *Scotland*, that joyned with him, to *Glasco*; from whence the Duke and his Associates fled upon their setting forth; from thence the Marshal sent to the Bishop of St. *Andrews*, and the Lords, who were in *Dumbarton* Castle, to Parly with them, to procure an abstinence of Arms, who appointed to meet them the next day at a Village half way betwixt *Glasco* and *Dumbarton*; where missing them at the time appointed he went neerer to *Dumbarton*, whereof he sent them word; and thereupon they returned his Messenger, and appointed to meet and speak with him out of the Castle, so as he would bring but one or two with him, and to put away his company; and so soon as he had so done, and that he was within their Shot, they sent him word to look to himself, and that they would not come to him; and as he turned his Horse, divers Harquebusiers, laid for the purpose, shot at him, and they discharged a Falcon at him out of the Castle, but he escaped without hurt; hereupon the Noblemen which were with him, burnt the Country thereabouts that belonged to the *Hambletons*, burnt the Town of *Hambleton*, and razed the Castle of *Hambleton*, and two other principal houses of the said Dukes, one in *Lithgo*, and another called *Kennell*; they have also thrown down the Abbot of *Kilwrenings* house, and in effect all the principal houses of the *Hambletons*, and have dealt with no other persons but with an *Hambleton*; and so the Marshall is returned to *Berwick*, &c.

SIR,

YEsterday did *Crips* arrive with your letters from *Argenton*, and two days before came *Rogers*. The Queens Majesty takes the Kings answer, doubtful, for his sending of Forces into *Scotland*, and therefore hath caused the *French* Ambassador to understand, and to advervise the King,

King, that if the King will ſend Forces thither, ſhe will take her ſelf free from her promiſe of delivering the Q. of *Scots*, of which matter I think he will advertiſe the King; and as you have occaſion, you may take knowledge thereof; for already her Majeſty hath revoked her Forces out of *Scotland*, leaving onely in *Hume* and *Faſt* Caſtle a ſmall Garriſon, where our Rebels were moſt maintained when they invaded *England*, untill her Majeſty may have ſome amends for her ſubjects loſſes.

My Lord of *Suſſex* hath fully avenged the wrongs, but yet our people have not recompence.

Mr. *Drury*, the Marſhall, with a thouſand Foot and four hundred Horſe, hath ſo plagued the *Hambletons* as they never had ſuch loſſes in all the wars betwixt *England* and *Scotland* theſe fourty years.

The Queens Majeſty hath hurt her Foot, that ſhe is conſtrained to keep her Bed-chamber; and therefore the *French* Ambaſſador could not yeſterday have Audience when he required, but is willed to write that he hath to ſay; I am ſorry that your ſervants when they come tarry ſo long here as they do, for it is not my fault, and ſo I end.

Oatlands, 22. *June*, 1570. *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecil.

Poſtſcript.

The Earl of *Southampton* lately being known to have met in *Lambeth Marſh* with the Biſhop of *Roſs*, is for his fooliſh audacity committed to the Sheriff of *London*, cloſely to be there kept. The fond Lord *Morley*, without any cauſe offered him, is gone like a noddy to *Lorrein*.

SIR,

I Stayed this bearer two days longer then firſt I intended, becauſe the *French* Ambaſſador required Audience, affirming that he had anſwer from the *French* King, wherewith the Queens Majeſty would be ſatisfied; and yeſterday he was here, and ſhewed her Majeſty the *French* Kings letters to him, and thereof gave her Majeſty a Copy, which I have, and do ſend to you herewith an extract of a clauſe tending to the matter, the letter being of it ſelf long and full of good words, purporting his deſire to have the *Scotiſh* Queen reſtored, and concord eſtabliſhed betwixt the two Queens; the letter is dated the 10. of *June*, and I note that your letter is dated the 15. and by his aforeſaid letter, King writeth that he will within two days ſpeak with you at *Alanſon*.

Now how the Kings promiſe will be kept, a ſhort time will declare; or how, if he break it, there ſhall be ſome Cavillations found, wherein, I doubt that they will ſeek illuſions, for that we do yet keep *Hume* Caſtle,

and

and *Faſt* Caſtle, which are kept with not paſt fourſcore men; and being the houſes of the Lord *Hume*, the Warden, who aided our Rebels with his Forces, to invade, burn, and ſpoil *England*; and therefore is by the Laws of the Borders anſwerable to the ſubjects of *England*; it is reaſon they be kept untill he will return, or authorize ſome for him to make anſwer, or to take order with the complainants, which being done, the Queen Majeſty will readily reſtore them: Thus much I have thought meet to impart.

Oatlands, 25. *Iune* 1570, *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador*, &c.

SIR,

I Am thrown into a Maze at this time, that Iknow not how to walk from dangers, Sir *Walter Mildmay* and I are ſent to the *Scotiſh* Queen, as by the Queens Majeſties letters you may ſee. God be our guide, for neither of us like the Meſſage.

I truſt, at my return, when Mr. *Walſingham* ſhall be returned, to help you home, your ſufficient is ſufficient to impart unto you all our Occurrents; and ſo I end.

Reading, 26. *Sept.* 1570. *Your aſſured friend*,
W. Cecil.

To the right honorable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Ambaſſador, Reſident in* France.

The

The Lord Coke *to King* James, *touching trial of Duels out of* England.

May it please your most excellent Majesty, 19. *Febr.* 1616.

I Have received a commandment by Mr. Sollicitor from your Majesty, consisting upon two parts; First, to answer whether I informed not your Majesty, that if two of your Subjects should go over beyond Sea, to fight in a Forreign Kingdom, and there in fight the one killeth the other; that in this case, the same might be punished by appeal before the Constable and Marshal of *England*. Secondly, if I made any such information, what authority and reason I had to maintain it.

To the first, the truth is, that I did inform your Majesty so, and I well remember, I said then, that it was *Dowties* Case, your Majesty then speaking of Duels.

To the second, this is by authority of an Act of Parliament made in the first year of King *Henry* the Fourth, the 14th. *Chapter*, in these words:

For many Inconveniencies and Mischiefs that have oftentimes happened by many Appeals made within the Realm before this time; It is ordained and established from henceforth, That all Appeals to be made of things done within the Realm, shall be tryed and determined by the good Laws of this Realm, made and used in the time of the Kings noble Progenitors; And that all Appeals to be made of things done out of the Realm, shall be tryed before the Constable and Marshal of England *for the time being; And that no Appeals be from henceforth made, or in any wise pursued in Parliament in any time to come.*

Note, before this Statute, Criminal Causes were often adjudged in Parliament.

In the late Queens time, a Case fell out upon this Statute; Sir *Francis Drake* having put *Dowtie* to death beyond Sea, the Brother and Heir of *Dowtie* sued by Petition to the Queen, that she would be pleased to appoint a Constable *hac vice*, to the end, he might have an Appeal against Sir *Francis Drake*, for the death of his Brother.

This Petition the Queen referred to Sir *Thomas Bromley*, and the two chief Justices, and others; And it was resolved of by them (which I being of Council with *Dowtie*, set down briefly for my Learning) That if two Englishmen go beyond Sea, and in Combate the one killeth the

other, this offence may be determined before the Conſtable and Marſhal of *England*, and ſo was the Statute of 1 *Henr.* 4. to be intended.

But after upon the true circumſtance of the Caſe, the Queen would not conſtitute a Conſtable of *England*, without whom no Proceeding could be.

And I take this reſolution to be well warranted by the Statute, and no ſmall inconvenience ſhould follow, and a great defect ſhould be in the Law, if ſuch bloody offences ſhould not be puniſhed, and Your Majeſty ſhould loſe a flower of Your Crown, in loſing this Power, to puniſh theſe growing and dangerous offences. I ſhewed to Mr. Sollicitor, my Report and Memorial of *Dowtie*'s Caſe, and I ſhall ever remain,

Your Majeſties Loyal,

19. *Febr.* 1616. *and Faithful Subject,*

Edw. Coke.

The Hiſtory of the Reign of King Henry *the Eighth*, *King* Edward *the Sixth*, *Queen* Mary, *and part of the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth.

THE books which are written, do in their kinds repreſent the faculties of the mind of man; Poeſie, his Imaginations; Philoſophy, his Reaſon; and Hiſtory, his Memory, of which three faculties, leaſt exception is commonly taken to memory, becauſe Imagination is often times idle, and Reaſon litigious. So likewiſe Hiſtory of all writings deſerveth leaſt taxation, as that which holdeth leaſt of the Author, and moſt of the things themſelves. Again, the uſe which it holdeth to mans life, if it be not the greateſt, yet aſſuredly it is the freeſt from ill accident or quality. For thoſe that are converſant much in Poets, as they attain to greater variety, ſo withall they become concieted; and thoſe that are brought up in Philoſophy and Sciences, do wax (according as their nature is) ſome of them too ſtiff and opinionative, and ſome others too perplexed and confuſed; whereas Hiſtory poſſeſſeth the mind with conceits which are neareſt allied unto action, and imprinteth them, ſo as it doth not alter the complexion of the minde, neither to irreſolution, nor pertinacity? But this is true, that in no ſort of writings there is a greater diſtance between the good and the bad, no not between the moſt excellent

cellent Poet, and the vaineſt Rimer; nor between the deepeſt Philoſopher, and the moſt frivolous School-men; then there is between good Hiſtories, and thoſe that unworthily bear the ſame, or the like title. In which regard, having purpoſed to write the Hiſtory of *England*, from the beginning of the Reign of King *H.* 8. of that name, near unto the preſent time wherein Queen *Elizabeth* Reigneth in good felicity; I am delivered of the excuſe wherewith the beſt writers of Hiſtories are troubled in their Poems, when they go about (without breaking the bounds of modeſty) to give a reaſon why they ſhould write that again, which others have written well, or at leaſt tolerably before. For thoſe which I am to follow, are ſuch, as I may fear, rather the reproach of coming unto their number, than the opinion of preſumption, if I hope to do better than they: But in the mean time it muſt be conſidered, That the beſt of the ancient Hiſtories were contrived out of divers particular Commentaries, Relations and Narrations, which it was not hard to digeſt with ornament, and thereof to compound one entire Story. And as at firſt, ſuch Writers had the eaſe of others labours; ſo ſince, they have the whole Commendation, in regard their former writings are for the moſt part loſt, whereby their borrowings do not appear. But unto me, the diſadvantage is great, finding no publick memories of any conſideration or worth, that the ſupply muſt be out of the freſhneſs of memory and tradition; and out of the Acts, Inſtruments, and Negotiations of State themſelves, together with the glances of Forreign Hiſtories; which, though I do acknowledge to be the beſt Originals and Inſtructions, out of which to write an Hiſtory, yet the travel muſt be much greater, than if there had been already digeſted any tolerable Chronicle, as a ſingle Narration of the Actions themſelves, which ſhould only have needed out of the former helps to be inriched with the Councels and Speeches, and notable Particularities. And this was the reaſon, while I might not attempt to go higher to more ancient times, becauſe thoſe helps and grounds did more and more fail; although if I be not deceived, I may truly affirm, that there have no things paſſed ever in this Nation, which have produced greater Actions, nor more worthy to be delivered to the Ages hereafter: For they be not the great Wars and Conqueſts (which many times are works of Fortune, and fall out in barbarous times) the rehearſal whereof, maketh the profitable and inſtructing Hiſtory; but rather times refined in policies and induſtries, new and rare variety of accidents and alterations, equal and juſt encounters of State and State in forces, and of Prince and Prince in ſufficiency, that bring upon the ſtage, the beſt parts for obſervation. Now if you look into the general natures of the times (which I have undertaken throughout *Europe*, where-

of the times of this Nation muſt needs participate; you ſhall find more knowledge in the World, than was in the Ages before; whereby the wits of men (which are the ſhops wherein all actions are forged) are more furniſhed and improved: Then if you ſhall reſtrain your Conſideration to the ſtate of this Monarchy; firſt, there will occur unto you Changes rare, and altogether unknown unto Antiquity in matters of Religion, and the State Eccleſiaſtical. Then to behold the ſeveral Reigns of a King that firſt, or next the firſt, became abſolute in the Sovereignty; of a King, in minority; of a Queen, married to a Forreigner; and laſtly, of a Queen that hath governed without the help, either of a marriage, or of any mighty man of her blood, is no ſmall variety in the affairs of a Monarchy; but ſuch, as perhaps in four Succeſſions in any State at any time is hardly to be found. Beſides, there have not wanted examples within the compaſſe of the ſame times, neither of an Uſurpation, nor of Rebellions under heads of greatneſs, nor of Commotions meerly popular, nor of ſundry deſperate Conſpirators (an unwonted thing in hereditary Monarchies) nor of Forreign Wars of all ſorts, invaſive, repulſive, of Invaſion open and declared; covert, and underhand, by Sea, by Land, *Scottiſh*, *French*, *Spaniſh* Succors, Protections, new and extraordinary kinds of Confederations with Subjects: Generally, without queſtion, the State of this Nation had never a longer reach to import the unuſual Affairs of *Europe*, as that which was in the former part of the time the Counterpoiſe between *France* and *Spain*; and in the latter, the only encounter and oppoſition again *Spain*. Add hereunto, the new Diſcoveries and Navigations abroad, the new proviſions of Laws and Preſidents of State at home, and the Accidents memorable, both of Sate, and of Court, and there will be no doubt, but the times which I have choſen, are of all former times in this Nation, the fitteſt to be regiſtred, if it be not in this reſpect, that they be of too freſh a memory; which point, I know very well, will be a prejudice, as if this ſtory were written in favour of the time preſent. But it ſhall ſuffice unto me, without betraying mine own name and memory, or the liberty of a Hiſtory, to procure this commendation to the time with the Poſterity; namely, That a private man living in the ſame time, ſhould not doubt to publiſh an Hiſtory of the time, which ſhould not carry any ſhew or taſte at all of flattery; a point noted for an infallible Demonſtration of a good time.

King Henry the Seventh of that name, after he had lived about 52. years, and thereof Reigned 23. and ſome months, deceaſed of a Conſumption the 22. day of *April*, in the Palace which he had built at *Richmond*, in the year of our redemption, 1504. This King attained unto

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the Crown, not only from a private fortune, which might endow him with moderation; but alſo from the fortune of an exile man, which had quickned in him all ſeeds of obſervation and Induſtry. His times were rather proſperous, than calme; for he was aſſailed with many troubles, which he overcame happily; a matter that did not leſſe ſet forth his wiſdom, than his fortune; and yet ſuch a wiſdom, as ſeemed rather a dexterity to deliver himſelf from dangers when they preſſed him, than any deep foreſight to prevent them afar off; Jealous he was over the greatneſs of his Nobility, as remembring how himſelf was ſet up. And much more did this humour encreaſe in him, after he had conflicted with ſome ſuch Idols and Counterfeits, as were *Lambert Symnell*, and *Perkine Warbeck*. The ſtrangeneſs of which dangers made him think nothing ſafe; whereby he was forced to deſcend to the imployment of ſecret Eſpials, and ſuborned Conſpirators, a neceſſary remedy againſt ſo dark and ſubtile practiſes, and not to be reprehended, except it were true which ſome report, That he had intelligence with Confeſſors, for the revealing matters diſcloſed in Confeſſion; and yet if a man compare him with the King his Concurrents in *France* and *Spain*, he ſhall find him more politique than *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, and more entire and ſincere than *Ferdinando* of *Spain*; upon whom, nevertheleſs, he did handſomly beſtow the envy of the death of *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*. Great and devout reverence he bear to Religion, as he that employed Eccleſiaſtical men in moſt of his affairs and negotiations, and as he that was brought hardly and very late, to the aboliſhing of the priviledges of Sanctuaries in caſe of Treaſon, and that not before he had obtained it by way of ſuit from Pope *Alexander*; which Sanctuaries nevertheleſs had been the forges of moſt of his troubles. In his Government he was led by none, ſcarcely by his Laws; and yet he was a great obſerver of formality in all his proceedings, which notwithſtanding, was no impediment to the working of his will [illegible] the ſuppreſſing and puniſhment of the Treaſons, which during the whole time of his Reign, were committed againſt him; he had a very ſtrange kind of interchanging of very large and unexpected pardons, with ſevere executions; which his Wiſdom conſidered could not be imputed to any Inconſtancy or Inequality, but to a diſcretion, or at leaſt to a principle that he had apprehended, that it was good, not obſtinately to purſue one courſe, but to try both ways. In his Wars, he ſeemed rather confident than enterprizing; by which alſo he was commonly not the poorer, but generally he did ſeem inclinable to live in peace, and made but offers of War to mend the conditions of peace; and in the quenching of the commotions of his Subjects, he was ever ready to atchieve

chieve thoſe Wars in Perſon, ſometimes reſerving himſelf, but never retiring himſelf, but as ready to ſecond. Of nature he coveted to accumulate treaſure, which the People (into whom there is infuſed for the preſervation of Monarchies, a natural deſire to diſcharge their Princes, though it be with the unjuſt Charge of their Councellors and Miniſters) did impute unto Cardinal *Morton*, and Sir *Reynold Bray*, who, as it after appeared, as Councellors of ancient Authority with him, did ſo ſecond his humour, as nevertheleſs they tempted it, and reſtrained it; whereas *Empſon* and *Dudley* that followed, being perſons that had no reputation with him, otherwiſe than the ſervile following of his own humour, gave him way, and ſhaped him way, to theſe extremities, wherewith himſelf was touched with remorſe at his death, and with his Succeſſor diſavowed. In expending of Treaſure, he never ſpared Charge that his Affairs required; and in his Foundations, was Magnificent enough, but his Rewards were very limited; ſo that his Liberality was rather upon his own ſtate and memory, than towards the deſerts of others. He choſe commonly to employ cunning perſons, as he that knew himſelf ſufficient to make uſe of their uttermoſt reaches, without danger of being abuſed with them himſelf.

The reſt is wanting.

A Copy of a Letter from His Majeſty, to the Lords, read at Board, Novemb. 21. 1617. *touching the abatement of His Majeſties Houſhold Charge.*

MY Lords, no worldly thing is ſo precious as Time: Ye know what task I gave you to work upon, during my abſence; and what time was limited unto you, for the performance thereof. This ſame Chancellor of *Scotland*, was wont to tell me twenty four years ago, that my houſe could not be kept upon *Epigrams*, long diſcourſes, and fair tales, will never repair my eſtate. *Omnis vertus in Actione conſiſtit.* Remember that I told you, the ſhooe muſt be made for the foot, and let that be the Square of all your proceeding in this buſineſs. Abate ſuperfluities in all things, and, multitudes of unneceſſary Officers, where ever they be placed. But for the houſhold Wardrope, and Penſions, cut and carve as many as may agree with the poſſibility of my means. Exceed not your own rule of 50000 l. for the houſhold. If you can make it leſſe, I will account it for good ſervice. And that you may ſee I will

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not spare mine own person, I have sent with this bearer, a note of the superfluous charges concerning my mouth, having had the happy opportunities of this Messenger, in an errand so nearly concerning his place. In this I expect no answer in word, or writing, but only the real performance, for a beginning to relieve me out of my miseries. For now the Ball is at your feet, and the world shall bear me witness, that I have put you fairly to it; and so praying God to bless your labours, I bid you heartily farewell.

Your own.

James R.

A Copy of His Majesties second Letter.

MY Lords, I received from you yesternight the blunt est Letter, that I think, ever King received from his Councel. Ye write, that the Green Cloth will do nothing, and ye offer me advice. Why are ye Councellors, if ye offer no Councel? an ordinary Messenger might have brought me such an answer; It is my pleasure, that my charges be equalled with my Revenue; and it is just and necessary so to be. For this a project must be made, and one of the main branches thereof, is my house.

This Project is but to be offered unto you, and how it may be best laid, then, to agree with my honour and contentment, ye are to advise upon, and then have my consent.

If this cannot be performed without diminishing the number of the Tables, diminished they must be; and if that cannot serve, two or three must be thrust into one. If the Green Cloth will not make a Project for this, some others must do it. If ye cannot find them out, I must: Only remember two things, That time must no more be lost, and that there are twenty wayes of abatement, besides the house, if they be well looked into. And so farewell.

James R.

A Letter from the King, to his Lordſhip, by occaſion of a Book; It was the Organon.

MY Lord, I have received your Letter, and your Book, then which ye could not have ſent a more acceptable Preſent unto Me; how thankful I am for it, cannot better be expreſſed by Me, then, by a firm reſolution I have taken, firſt to read it through, with care and attention, though I ſhould ſteal ſome houres from My ſleep, having otherwiſe as little ſpare time to read it, as ye had to write it; and then to uſe the liberty of a true friend, in not ſparing to ask you the queſtion in any point thereof, I ſhall ſtand in doubt, *Nam ejus eſt explicare cujus eſt condere*: As for the other part, I will willingly give a due Commendation to ſuch places, as in My Opinion, ſhall deſerve it. In the mean time, I can with Comfort aſſure you, that ye could not make choice of a Subject more befitting your place, and your univerſal and Methodick knowledge; and in the general, I have already obſerved, that ye jump with me in keeping the middle way, between the two extreams; as alſo in ſome particulars, I have found that ye agree fully with my opinion; and ſo praying God to give your work as good ſucceſs, as your heart can wiſh, and your labours deſerve, I bid you heartily farewell.

James R.

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved, Thomas Coventry, *Our Attorney General.*

TRuſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well; whereas our Right Truſty, and Right Well-beloved Coſen, the Viſcount of St. *Alban*, upon a ſentence given in the Upper-houſe of Parliament full three years ſince, and more, hath endured loſs of his place, Impriſonment and Confinement alſo for a great time, which may ſuffice for the ſatisfaction of Juſtice, and example to others. We being always graciouſly inclined to temper Mercy with Juſtice, and calling to minde his former good ſervices, and how well and profitably he hath ſpent his time ſince his Troubles. are pleaſed to remove from him that blot of Ignominy which yet remaineth upon him, of incapacity, and diſablement; and to remit to him all

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penalties whatſoever inflicted by that ſentence, having therefore formerly pardoned his Fine, and releaſed his Confinement. Theſe are to will and require you to prepare for Our Signature, a Bill containing a Pardon in due Form of Law, of the whole ſentence: For which, this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant.

A Letter written by Sir Philip Sidney, *unto* Q. Elizabeth, *touching her Marriage with* Mounſieur.

MOſt Feared and Beloved, moſt Sweet and Gracious Soveraign, To ſeek out excuſes of this my Boldneſs, and to arm the acknowledging of a Fault with reaſons for it, might better ſhew, I knew I did amiſs, than any way diminiſh the Attempt; eſpecially in your Judgment, who being able to diſcern lively into the nature of the thing done: it were Folly, to hope, by laying on better Colours, to make it more acceptable. Therefore carrying no other Olive-branch of Interceſſion, than the laying of my ſelf at your Feet; nor no other Inſinuation, either for Attention or Pardon, but the true vowed Sacrifice of unfeigned Love, I will in ſimple and direct terms (as hoping they ſhall only come to your merciful Eyes) ſet down the overflowing of my mind, in this moſt important matter: Importing, as I think, the continuance of your Safety; and (as I know) the Joyes of my life. And, becauſe my words, (I confeſs, ſhallow; but, coming from the deep Well-ſpring of moſt Loyal Affection) have delivered unto your moſt Gracious Ears, what is the general Sum of my travelling Thoughts therein; I will now but only declare, what be the Reaſons that make me think, That the Marriage with *Mounſieur*, will be unprofitable to you: Then, will I anſwer the Objections of thoſe Fears, which might procure ſo violent a Refuge. The Good or Evils that will come to you by it, muſt be conſidered, either according to your Eſtate, or Perſon. To your Eſtate: What can be added to the being an Abſolute born, and accordingly, Reſpected Princeſs? But as they ſay, The *Iriſh* men were wont to call over them that dye, They are Rich, they are Fair, what needed they to dye ſo cruelly? Not unfitly to you, endowed with Felicity above all others, a man might well ask, What makes you in ſuch a Calm, to change Courſe? To ſo healthful a Body, to apply ſo unſavoury a Medicine? What can recompence ſo hazardous an Adventure? Indeed, were it but the altering of a well maintained, and well approved Trade: For, as in Bodies Natural, every ſudden Change is full of peril: So, this Body Politick, whereof

you are the only Head, it is ſo much the more dangerous, as there are more humours, to receive a hurtful impreſſion. But hazards are then moſt to be regarded, when the nature of the Patient is fitly compoſed to occaſion them.

The Patient I account your Realm, the Agent *Mounſieur*, and his Deſign; for neither outward Accidents do much prevail againſt a true inward ſtrength, nor doth inward weakneſs lightly ſubvert it ſelf, without being thruſt at by ſome outward force.

Your inward force, (for as for your Treaſures, indeed the Sinews of your Crown, your Majeſty doth beſt and only know) conſiſteth in your Subjects, generally unexpert in warlike defence. And as they are divided now into mighty Factions (and Factions bound upon the never dying knot of Religion) The one of them to whom your happy Government hath granted the free exerciſe of the Eternal Truth; with this by the continuance of time, by the multitude of them, by the principal Offices and ſtrength they hold: and laſtly, by your dealings both at home and abroad againſt the Adverſe party, your State is ſo entrapped, as it were impoſſible for you, without exceſſive trouble, to pull your ſelf out of the party ſo long maintained. For ſuch a courſe once taken in hand, is not much unlike a Ship in a tempeſt, which how dangerouſly ſo ever it be beaten with waves, yet is there no ſafety or ſuccor without it: Theſe therefore, as their ſouls live by your happy Government, ſo are they your chief, if not your ſole ſtrength. Theſe, howſoever the neceſſity of humane life make them lack, yet can they not look for better Conditions then preſently they enjoy: theſe, how their hearts will be galled, if not aliened, when they ſhall ſee you take a Husband, a *French* man, and a Papiſt, in whom (howſoever fine wits may find further dealings or painted excuſes) the very common people well know this, that he is the ſon of a *Jezabel* of our Age; that his brother made oblation of his own ſiſters Marriage, the eaſier to make maſſacres of our brethren in belief. That he himſelf, contrary to his promiſe and all gratefulneſs, having had his liberty, and principal eſtate by the *Hugonites* means, did ſack *Lachariſts*, and utterly ſpoil them with fire and ſword: This I ſay, even at the firſt ſight, gives occaſion to all truly Religious to abhor ſuch a Maſter, and conſequently to diminiſh much of the hopeful love they have long held to you.

The other Faction (moſt rightly indeed to be called a Faction) is the Papiſts, men, whoſe ſpirits are full of anguiſh; ſome being infeſted by others, whom they accounted damnable; ſome having their Ambition ſtopped, becauſe they are not in the way of Advancement; ſome in Priſon, and Diſgrace; ſome, whoſe beſt Friends are baniſhed Practiſers;

ſers; Many thinking you are an Uſurper; many thinking alſo, you had diſannulled your Right, becauſe of the Popes Excommunication: All burthened with the weight of their Conſcience; Men of great Numbers, of great Riches (becauſe the Affairs of State have not lain on them) of united minds (as all men that deem themſelves oppreſſed, naturally are) with theſe I would willingly join all diſcontented perſons, ſuch as want and diſgrace keeps lower than they have ſet their hearts. Such as have reſolved what to look for at your hands; ſuch, as *Cæſar* ſaid, *Quibus opus eſt Bello civili*; and are of his minde, *Malo in acie quàm in foro cadere*: Theſe be men ſo much the more to be doubted, becauſe, as they do embrace all Eſtates, ſo are they, commonly, of the braveſt and wakefulleſt ſort; and, that know the advantage of the World moſt. This double Rank of People, how their minds have ſtood, the *Northern* Rebellion, and infinite other Practiſes have well taught you: Which, if it be ſaid, it did not prevail, that is true indeed; for, if they had prevailed, it were too late now to deliberate. But, at this preſent, they want nothing ſo much as a Head, who, in effect, needs not but to receive their Inſtructions, ſince they may do miſchief enough only with his Countenance. Let the *Sigingniam* in *Henr.* 4. Time; *Perkin Warbeck* in your Grandfathers: But of all, the moſt lively and proper, is that of *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son in *Henr.* 3. Time, who having at all no ſhew of Title, yet did he cauſe the Nobility, and more, to ſwear direct Fealty and Vaſſalage, and they delivered the ſtrongeſt Holds unto him. I ſay, let theſe be ſufficient to prove, That occaſion gives minds and ſcope to ſtranger things than ever would have been imagined: If then the Affectionate ſide have their Affections weakned, and the Diſcontented have a Gap to utter their Diſcontent; I think, it will ſeem an ill preparative for the Patient, I mean your Eſtate, to a great ſickneſs.

Now the agent party, which is *Mounſieur*, whether he be not apt to work upon the diſadvantage of your eſtate, he is to be judged by his will and power: His will to be as full of light ambition as is poſſible; Beſides the *French* diſpoſition, and his own Education, his inconſtant attempt againſt his brother, his thruſting himſelf in to the Low Country matters: His ſometime ſeeking the King of *Spains* Daughter, ſometimes your Majeſty, are evident teſtimonies of his being carried away with every wind of hope: Taught to love greatneſs any way gotten: And having for the motioners and Miniſters of the mind, only ſuch young men as have ſhewed, they think evil contentment a ground of any *Rebellion*: who have ſeen no Common-wealth but in faction, and divers of which have defiled their hands in odious Murthers; with ſuch fancies,

and favourites what is to be hoped for? or that he will contain himself within the limits of your conditions, since in truth it were strange, that he that cannot be contented to be the second person in *France*, and heir apparant, should be content to come to be second person, where he should pretend no way to Sovereignty? His power I imagine is not to be despised, since he is come into a Countrey where the way of Evil-doing will be presented unto him: Where there needs nothing but a head to draw together all the ill-affected Members: Himself a Prince of great Revenues, of the most popular Nation of the world, full of Souldiery, and such as are used to serve without pay, so as they may have shew of spoil; and without question shall have his brother ready to help him, as well for old revenge, as to divert him from troubling *France*, and to deliver his own Countrey from evil humors: Neither is King *Philips* Marriage herein any example. Since then it was between two of one Religion, so that he in *England* stood only upon her strength, and had abroad King Henry of *France*, ready to impeach any enterprize he should make for his greatness that way: And yet what events time would have brought forth of that Marriage, your most blessed Reign hath made vain all such considerations. But things holding in present state, I think I may easily conclude, that your Countrey, as well by long peace and fruits of peace, as by the poyson of division (wherewith the faithful shall by this means be wounded, and the contrary enabled) made fit to receive hurt; and *Mounsieur* being every way likely to use the occasions to hurt, there can almost happen no worldly thing of more eminent danger to your estate Royal. And as to your person, in the scale of your happiness, what good there may come by it to ballance with the loss of so honourable a constancy, truly yet I preceive not: I will not shew so much malice, as to Object the universal doubt, the Races unhealthfulness, neither will I lay to his charge the Ague-like manner of proceedings, sometimes hot, & sometimes cold in the time of pursuit, which alwayes rightly is most fervent. And I wil temper my speeches from any other unreverend disgracings of him in particular (though they might be never so true) this only will I say, that if he do come hither, he must live here in far meaner reputation then his mind will well brook, having no other Royalty to countenance himself with, or else you must deliver him the keyes of your Kingdom, and live at his discretion; or lastly, he must be separate himself with more dishonour, and further disuniting of heart than ever before: often have I heard you with protestation say, No private pleasure or self-affection could lead you unto it; but if it be both unprofitable for your Kingdom, and unpleasant to you, certainly it were a dear purchase of Repentance: Nothing can it add unto you, but the bliss of children, which

I confeſs were a moſt unſpeakable comfort. But yet no more appertaining unto him, then to any other to whom the height of all good haps were alloted, to be your Husband; and therefore I may aſſuredly affirm, that what good ſoever can follow Marriage, is no more his than any bodies; but the evils and dangers are peculiarly annexed to his perſon and Condition. For as for the enriching of your Countrey with treaſure, which either he hath not, or hath otherwiſe beſtowed it: or the ſtaying of your ſervants minds with new expectation and liberality, which is more dangerous than fruitful, or the eaſing of your Majeſty of cares, which is as much to ſay, as the eaſing of you to be Queen and Sovereign; I think every body perceives this way either to be full of hurt, or void of help. Now reſteth to conſider what be the motives of this ſudden change, as I have heard you in moſt ſweet words deliver: fear of ſtanding alone, in reſpect of forreign dealings: and in them from whom you ſhould have reſpect, doubt of contempt: Truly ſtanding alone with good fore-ſight of Government both in peace and warlike defence, is the honourableſt thing that can be to a well eſtabliſhed Monarchy: Thoſe buildings being ever moſt ſtrongly durable, which lean to none other, but remain from their own foundation.

So yet in the particulars of your eſtate preſently, I will not altogether deny that a true *Maſſiniſſa* were very fit to countermine the enterprize of Mighty *Carthage*. But how this general truth can be applyed unto Mounſier, in truth I perceive not. The wiſeſt that have given beſt rules where ſureſt Leagues are to be made, have ſaid, That it muſt be between ſuch as either vehement deſire of a third thing, or as vehement fear doth knit their minds together. Deſire is counted the weaker Bond; but yet that bound ſo many Princes to the Expedition of the *Holy Land*. It united that invincible *Hen.* 5. and that good Duke of *Burgundy*: The one, deſiring to win the Crown of *France* from the *Dauphin*: The other, deſiring to revenge his Fathers Murther upon the *Dauphin*; which both tended to one. That coupled *Lewis* the Twelfth, and *Ferdinando* of *Spain*, to the Conqueſt of *Naples*. Of fear, there are innumerable Examples: *Mounſieurs* deſires, and yours, how they ſhould meet in Publick matters, I think, no Oracle can tell: For, as the *Geometricians* ſay, That Parallels, becauſe they maintain divers lines, can never join; ſo truly, two having in the beginning contrary Principles, to bring forth one Doctrine, muſt be ſome Miracle. He, of the *Romiſh* Religion; and, if he be a man, muſt needs have that manlike property, to deſire that all men be of his mind: You the Erector and Defender of the contrary; and the only Sun that dazleth their eyes. He *French*, and deſiring to make *France* great; Your

Majeſty

Majeſty *Engliſh*, and deſiring nothing leſs then that *France* ſhould grow great. He, both by his own fancy, and his youthful Governours, embracing all ambitious hopes, having *Alexanders* Image in his head, but, perhaps, evil painted: Your Majeſty, with excellent vertue, taught what you ſhould hope; and by no leſs wiſdom, what you may hope; with a Council renowned over all *Chriſtendome*, for their well tempered minds, having ſet the utmoſt of their Ambition in your Favour; and the ſtudy of their Souls in your Safety.

Fear hath as little ſhew of outward appearance, as Reaſon, to match you together; for in this eſtate he is in, whom ſhould he fear? his Brother? Alas! his Brother is afraid, ſince the King of *Navar* is to ſtep into his place. Neither can his Brother be the ſafer by his Fall; but he may be the greater by his Brothers; whereto whether you will be an Acceſſary, you are to determine. The King of *Spain*, certainly, cannot make War upon him, but it muſt be upon all the Crown of *France*; which is no likelihood he will do. Well may *Mounſieur* (as he hath done) ſeek to enlarge the bounds of *France* upon his State; which likewiſe, whether it be ſafe for you to be a Countenance to, any other way, may be ſeen: So that if neither deſire, nor fear, be ſuch in him, as are to bind any Publick faſtneſs; it may be ſaid, That the only Fortreſs of this your Marriage, is, of his private Affection; a thing too incident to the perſon laying it up in ſuch knots.

The other Objection of contempt in the Subjects, I aſſure your Majeſty, if I had not heard it proceed out of your Mouth, which of all other I do moſt dearly reverence, it would as ſoon (conſidering the perfections both of body and mind, have ſet all mens eyes by the height of your eſtate) have come to the poſſibility of my Imagination, if one ſhould have told me on the contrary ſide, That the greateſt Princes of the World ſhould envy the State of ſome poor deformed Pilgrim. What is there either within you, or without you, that can poſſibly fall into the danger of contempt, to whom fortunes are tryed by ſo long diſcent of your Royal Anceſtors? But our minds rejoyce with the experience of your inward Vertues, and our eyes are delighted with the ſight of you. But becauſe your own eyes cannot ſee your ſelf, neither can there be in the World any example fit to blaze you by, I beſeech you vouchſafe to weigh the grounds thereof. The Natural cauſes are lengths of Government, and uncertainty of Succeſſion: The Effects, as you term them, appear by cheriſhing ſome abominable ſpeeches which ſome helliſh minds have uttered. The longer a good Prince Raigneth, it is certain the more he is eſteemed; there is no man ever was weary of well being. And good increaſed to good, maketh the ſame good both greater and ſtronger;

er; for it uſeth men to know no other cares, when either men are born in the time, and ſo never ſaw other; or have ſpent much part of their flouriſhing time, and ſo have no joy to ſeek other: in evil Princes, abuſe growing upon abuſe according to the nature of evil, with the increaſe of time ruines it ſelf. But in ſo rare a Government where neighbours fires give us light to ſee our quietneſs, where nothing wants that true Adminiſtration of Juſtice brings forth, certainly the length of time rather breeds a mind to think there is no other life but in it, then that there is any tediouſneſs in ſo fruitful a Government. Examples of good Princes do ever confirm this, who the longer they lived, the deeper ſtill they ſunk into their Subjects hearts. Neither will I trouble you with examples, being ſo many and manifeſt. Look into your own eſtate, how willingly they grant, and how dutifully they pay ſuch ſubſidies as you demand of them? How they are no leſs troubleſome to your Majeſty in certain requeſts, than they were in the beginning of your Reign: And your Majeſty ſhall find you have a people more then ever devoted to you.

As for the uncertainty of ſucceſſion, although for mine own part I know well I have caſt the utmoſt Anchor of my hope, yet for *Englands* ſake I would not ſay any thing againſt ſuch determination; but that uncertain good ſhould bring contempt to a certain good, I think it is beyond all reach of reaſon: nay, becauſe if there were no other cauſe (as there are infinite) common reaſon and profit would teach us to hold that Jewel dear, the loſs of which would bring us to we know not what: which likewiſe is to be ſaid of your Majeſties Speech of the riſing Sun, a Speech firſt uſed by *Scilla* to *Pompey* in *Rome*, as then a popular City, where indeed men were to riſe or fall, according to the Flouriſh and breath of a many headed confuſion. But in ſo Lineal a Monarchy, whereever the infants ſuck the love of their rightful Prince, who would leave the Beams of ſo fair a Sun, for the dreadful expectation of a divided Company of Stars? Vertue and Juſtice are the only bonds of peoples love: and as for that point, Many Princes have loſt their Crowns whoſe own children were manifeſt Succeſſors; and ſome, that had their own children uſed as Inſtruments of their ruine: not that I deny the bliſs of children, but only to ſhew Religion and equity to be of themſelves ſufficient ſtayes: Neither is the love was born in the Queen, your Siſters dayes, any contradiction hereunto; for ſhe was the Oppreſſor of that Religion which lived in many mens hearts, and whereof you were known to be the Favourer; by her loſs, was the moſt excellent Prince in the World to ſucceed; by your loſs, all blindneſs light upon him that ſees not our miſery. Laſtly, and moſt properly to this purpoſe, ſhe had made an odious Marriage with

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a ſtranger (which is now in queſtion, whether your Majeſty ſhould do or no) ſo that if your Subjects do at this time look for any after-chance, it is but as the Pilot doth to the Ship-boat, if his Ship ſhould periſh; drive n by extremity to the one; but, as long as he can with his life, tendring the other. And this I ſay, not only for the lively parts that be in you; but even for their own ſakes, ſince they muſt needs ſee what Tempeſts threaten them.

The laſt proof of this contempt, ſhould be the venemous matter certain men impoſtumed with wickedneſſe ſhould utter againſt you. Certainly not to be evil ſpoken of, neither Chriſts holineſs, nor *Cæſars* might could ever prevent or warrant: There being for that no other rule, then ſo to do, as that they may not juſtly ſay evil of you; which whether your Majeſty have not done, I leave it in you, to the ſincereneſs of your own Conſcience, and wiſdom of your judgment; in the world, to your moſt manifeſt fruits and fame through *Europe*; *Auguſtus* was told, that men ſpake of him much hurt; it is no matter ſaid he, ſo long as they cannot do much hurt. And laſtly, *Charles* 5th to one that told him, *Le Holladour parlent mal, mais Ilz. patient bien, anſwered Le.* I might make a Scholar-like reckoning of many ſuch Examples. It ſufficeth that theſe great Princes knew well enough upon what wayes they flew, and cared little for the barking of a few Currs: And truly in the behalf of your ſubjects, I durſt with my blood anſwer it, That there was never Monarch held in more precious reckoning of her people; and before God how can it be otherwiſe? For mine own part, when I hear ſome loſt wretch hath defiled ſuch a name with his mouth, I conſider the right name of Blaſphemy, whoſe unbridled ſoul doth delight to deprave that which is accounted generally moſt high and holy. No no, moſt excellent Lady, do not raze out the impreſſion you have made in ſuch a multitude of hearts, and let not the ſcum of ſuch vile minds bear any witneſs againſt your ſubjects devotions: Which, to proceed one point further, if it were otherwiſe, could little be helped, but rather nouriſhed, and in effect begun by this. The only means of avoiding contempt, are Love and Fear: Love as you have by divers means ſent into the depth of their ſouls; ſo if any thing can ſtain ſo true a form, it muſt be the trimming your ſelf, not in your own likeneſs, but in new colours unto them: Their fear by him cannot be increaſed without appearance of French Forces, the manifeſt death of your eſtate; but well may it againſt him bear that face, which as the Tragick *Seneca* ſaith, *Metus in Authorem redit*, as becauſe both in will and power he is like enough to do harm. Since then it is dangerous for your State, as well becauſe by inward weakneſs (principally cauſed by diviſion) it is fit to receive

harm;

harm; Since to your perſon it can no way be comfortable, you not deſiring marriage, and neither to perſon nor ſtate he is to bring any more good than any body, but more evil he may, ſince the cauſes that ſhould drive you to this, are either fears of that which cannot happen, or by this means cannot be prevented; I do with moſt humble heart ſay unto your Majeſty (having aſſayed this dangerous help) for your ſtanding alone, you muſt take it for a ſingular Honour God hath done you, to be indeed the only Protector of his Church; and yet in worldly Reſpects your Kingdom very ſufficient ſo to do, if you make that Religion upon which you ſtand, to carry the only ſtrength, and have aboard thoſe that ſtill maintain the ſame courſe, who as long as they may be kept from utter falling, your Majeſty is ſure enough from your mightieſt Enemies.

As for this man, as long as he is but *Mounſieur* in Might, and a Papiſt in Profeſſion, he neither can, nor will greatly ſhield you: And if he grow to be King, his defence will be like *Ajax* ſhield, which rather weighed them down, than defended thoſe that bare it. Againſt Contempt, if there be any, which I will never believe, let your excellent vertues of Piety, Juſtice and Liberality daily, if it be poſſible, more and more ſhine; let ſuch particular actions be found out (which be eaſie as I think to be done) by which you may gratifie all the hearts of your people: Let thoſe in whom you find Truſt, and to whom you have committed Truſt in your weighty Affairs, be held up in the eyes of your Subjects. Laſtly, doing as you do, you ſhall be as you be, the Example of Princes, the Ornament of this Age, the Comfort of the Afflicted, the Delight of your People, and the moſt excellent Fruit of your Progenitors, and the perfect Mirror of your Poſterity.

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My Lord Sanquir's *Caſe.*

IN this cauſe of the life and death, the Juries part is in effect diſcharged; for after a frank and formal Confeſſion, their labour is at an end; ſo that what hath been ſaid by Mr. Attorney, or ſhall be ſaid by my ſelf, is rather convenient than neceſſary.

My Lord *Sanquire*, your fault is great, it cannot be extenuated, and it cannot be aggravated; and if it needed, you have made ſo full an Anatomy of it out of your own feeling, as it cannot be matched by my ſelf, or any man elſe out of Conceit: So as that part of aggravation I leave.

Nay more, this Chriſtian and penitent courſe of yours, draws me thus far, that I will agree in ſome ſort to extenuate it; for certainly as even in extream evils there are degrees, ſo this particular of your offence is ſuch, as though it be foul ſpilling of blood, yet there are more foul; for if you had ſought to take away mans life for his Vineyard, as *Achab* did; or for envie, as *Cain* did; or to poſſeſſe his bed, as *David* did; ſurely the murder had been more odious.

Your temptation was revenge, which the more natural it was to man, the more have Laws both divine and humane ſought to repreſs it; *Mihi vindicta.* But in one thing you and I ſhall never agree. That generous ſpirits (you ſay) are hard to forgive; no, contrariwiſe generous and magnanimous minds are readieſt to forgive, and it is a weakneſs and impotency of mind to be unable to forgive; *Corpora magnanimo ſatis eſt proſtraſſe Leoni.*

But howſoever Murther may ariſe from ſeveral motives, leſs or more odious, yet the Law both of God and man involves them in one degree; and therefore you may read that in *Joabs* caſe, which was a Murther upon revenge, and matcheth with our caſe; he for a dear brother, and you for a dear part of your own body, yet there was never a ſevere charge given, that it ſhould not be unpuniſhed.

And certainly the circumſtance of time is heavy upon you; it is now five years ſince this unfortunate man *Turner*, be it upon accident, or be it upon deſpight, gave the provocation, which was the ſeed of your malice: all paſſions are aſſwaged with time, love, hatred, grief, all; fire it ſelf burns out with time, if no new fuel be put to it. Therefore for you to have been in the gall of bitterneſs ſo long, and to have been in reſtleſs Chaſe of this blood ſo many years, is a ſtrange example, and I muſt tell you plainly, that I conceive you have ſuckt thoſe affections of dwelling in malice, rather out of *Italy*, and Outlandiſh manners where you have converſed, than out of any part of this Iſland, *England* or *Scotland.*

But that which is fitteſt for me to ſpend time in, (the matter being confeſſed) is, to ſet forth and magnifie to the hearers, the Juſtice of this day; firſt of God, and then of the King.

My Lord, you have friends and entertainments in Forrein parts; It had been an eaſie thing for you to ſet *Carlile*, or ſome other blood-hound on work, when your perſon had been beyond the Seas, and ſo this news might have come to you in a packet, and you might have looked on how the ſtorm would paſs; but God bereaved you of this fore-ſight, and bound you here under that hand of a King, that though abundant in Clemency, yet is no leſs zelous of Juſtice.

Again, when you came in at *Lambeth*, you might have perſiſted in the denial

denial of the procurement of the fact. *Carlile*, a reſolute man, might perhaps have cleared you (for they that are reſolute in miſchief, are commonly obſtinate in concealing their porcurers) and ſo nothing ſhould have been againſt you but preſumption. But then alſo God, to take away all obſtructions of Juſtice, gave you the grace, which ought indeed to be more true comfort to you, than any device (whereby you might have eſcaped) to make a clear and plain Confeſſion.

Other impediments there were (not a few) which might have been an interruption to this dayes Juſtice, had not God in his Providence removed them.

But now that I have given God the Honour, let me give it likewiſe where it is next due, which is, to the King our Sovereign.

This Murther was no ſooner committed, and brought to his Majeſties ears; but his juſt indignation wherewith he firſt was moved, caſt it ſelf into a great deal of care and prudence to have Juſtice done: Firſt came forth his Proclamation ſomewhat of a rare Form, and deviſed, and in effect dictated by his Majeſty himſelf, and by that he did proſecute the Offendors, as it were, with the breath and blaſt of his Mouth: Then did his Majeſty ſtretch forth his long Arms (for Kings have long Arms) when they will extend them; one of them to the Sea, where he took hold of *Grey* ſhipped for *Luedia*, who gave the firſt light of Teſtimony; the other Arm to *Scotland*, and took hold of *Carlile*, ere he was warm in his houſe, and brought him the length of his Kingdom under ſuch ſafe watch and cuſtody, as he could have no means to eſcape, no nor to miſchief himſelf, no nor learn no leſſons to ſtand mute, in which caſe perhaps this dayes Juſtice might have received a ſtop; ſo that I may conclude, his Majeſty hath ſhewed himſelf Gods true Lieutenant, and that he is no Reſpecter of perſons; but *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh*, Noblemen, Fencer, are to him alike in reſpect of Juſtice.

Nay, I muſt ſay further, That his Majeſty hath had in this, a kind of Prophetical Spirit; for what time *Carlile* and *Grey*, and you my Lord your ſelf were fled, no man knew whether, to the four winds; the King ever ſpake in a confident and undertaking manner, That whereſoever the Offenders were in *Europe*, he would produce them forth to Juſtice; of which noble word God hath made him Maſter.

Laſtly, I will conclude towards you my Lord, That though your Offence hath been great, yet your Confeſſion hath been free, and your behaviour and ſpeech full of diſcretion; and this ſhews, That though you could not reſiſt the Tempter, yet you bear a Chriſtian and generous ſpirit, anſwerable to the noble Family of which you are deſcended. This I commend in you, and take it to be an aſſured Token of God's mercy and

favour, in reſpect whereof, all worldly things are but Traſh, and ſo it is fit for you as your ſtate now is, to account them; and this is all I will ſay for the preſent.

My Lady Shrewsburies *Cauſe.*

Your Lordſhips do obſerve the Nature of this Charge.

MY Lady of *Shrewsbury*, a Lady wiſe, and that ought to know what duty requireth, is charged to have refuſed, and to have perſiſted in refuſal to anſwer, and to be examined in a High cauſe of State, being examined by the Council-table, which is a Repreſentative body of the King.

The nature of the cauſe upon which ſhe was examined, is an eſſential point which doth aggravate and encreaſe this contempt and preſumption, and therefore of neceſſity with that we muſt begin.

How graciouſly and Parent-like, His Majeſty uſed the Lady *Arbella* before ſhe gave him cauſe of Indignation, the world knoweth.

My Lady notwithſtanding extreamly ill-adviſed, tranſacted the moſt weighty and binding part and action of her life, which is her Marriage, without acquanting His Majeſty, which had been a neglect even to a mean Parent. But being to Our Sovereign, and ſhe ſtanding ſo near to His Majeſty as ſhe doth, and then chooſing ſuch a Condition as it pleaſed her to chuſe, all parties laid together, how dangerous it was, my Lady might have read it in the fortune of that houſe wherewith ſhe is matched; for it was not unlike the caſe of Mr. *Seymers* Grandmother.

The King nevertheleſs ſo remembred He was a King, as He forgot not he was a Kinſman, and placed her only *ſub libera cuſtodia.*

But now did my Lady accumulate and heap up this offence with a far greater than the former, by ſeeking to withdraw her ſelf out of the Kings Power into Forreign Parts.

That this flight or eſcape into Forreign Parts might have been ſeed of trouble to this State, is a matter whereof the conceit of a Vulgar perſon is not capable.

For although my Lady ſhould have put on a mind to continue her Loyalty, as nature and duty did bind her; yet when ſhe was in another ſphere, ſhe muſt have moved in the motion of that Orb, and not of the Planet it ſelf. And God forbid the Kings felicity ſhould be ſo little, as ſhe ſhould not have envy and enviers enough in Forreign Parts.

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It is true, if any forreigner had wrought upon this occaſion, I do not doubt but the intent would have been as the Prophet ſaith, *They have conceived miſchief, and brought forth a vain thing.* But yet your Lordſhips know that it is Wiſdom in Princes, and it is a watch they owe to themſelves, and to their people, to ſtop the beginnings of evils, and not to deſpiſe them. *Seneca* ſaith well, *Non jam amplius levia ſunt pericula ſi levia videantur*; dangers ceaſe to be light, becauſe by deſpiſing they grow, and gather ſtrength.

And accordingly hath been the practice both of the Wiſeſt and ſtouteſt Princes to hold, for matter pregnant of peril, to have any near them in blood flie into Forreign Parts. Wherein I will not wander, but take the example of King *Hen.* 7. a Prince not unfit to be parallel'd with his Majeſty; I mean not the particular of *Perkin Werbeck*; for he was but an idol, or a diſguiſe; but the example I mean, is that of the Earl of *Suffolk*, whom that King extorted from *Philip* of *Auſtria*. The ſtory is memorable, That *Philip* after the death of *Iſabella* coming to take poſſeſſion of His Kingdom of *Caſtilia* (which was but Matrimonial to His Father in Law *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*,) was caſt by weather upon the Coaſt of *Tamouth*, where the *Italian* ſtory ſaith, King *Henry* uſed him in all things elſe as a Prince, but in one thing as a Priſoner; for he forced upon him a Promiſe to reſtore the Earl of *Suffolk* that was fled into *Flanders*; and yet this I note was in the 21. year of his Reign when the King had a goodly Prince at mans eſtate beſides his daughters, nay, and the whole line of *Clarence* nearer in title; for that Earl of *Suffolk* was Deſcended of a Siſter of *Edward* 4. ſo far off did that King take his aim.

To this action of ſo deep conſequence, it appeareth you (my Lady of *Shrewsbury*) were privy, not upon Forreign ſuſpitions or ſtrained inferences, but upon vehement preſumptions, now clear and particular teſtimony, as hath been opened to you, ſo as the King had not only Reaſon to examine you upon it, but to have proceeded with you upon it as for a great contempt, which if it be reſerved for the preſent, your Ladiſhip is to underſtand it aright, that it is not defect of proof, but abundance of grace that is the cauſe of this proceeding. And your Ladyſhip ſhall do well to ſee into what danger you have brought your ſelf: All offences conſiſt of the fact which is open, and the intent which is ſecret; this fact of Conſpiring in the flight of this Lady, may bear a hard, and gentler conſtruction; if upon over much affection to your Kinſwoman, gentler; if upon practice or other end, harder; you muſt take heed how you enter into ſuch actions, whereof if the hidden part be drawn unto that which is open, it may be your overthrow, which I ſpeak not by way of charge, but by way of caution.

For

For that which you are properly charged with, you muſt know that all ſubjects, without diſtinction of degrees, owe to the King tribute and ſervice, not only of their deed and hand, but of their knowledge and diſcoverie.

If there be any thing that imports the Kings ſervice, they ought themſelves undemanded to impart it, much more if they be called and examined, whether it be of their own fact, or of anothers, they ought to make direct anſwer; Neither was there ever any ſubject brought into cauſes of eſtate to trial judicial, but firſt he paſſed examination, for examination is the entrance of Juſtice in criminal cauſes; it is one of the eyes of the Kings politique bodie; there are but two, Information, and Examination; it may not be endured that one of the lights be put out by your example.

Your excuſes are not worthie your own judgment; raſh vowes of lawful things are to be kept, but unlawful vowes not; your own Divines will tell you ſo. For your examples, they are ſome erroneous traditions. My Lord of *Pembrook* ſpake ſomewhat that he was unlettered, and it was but when he was examined by one private Councellor, to whom he took exception. That of my Lord *Lumley* is a fiction; the preheminences of Nobility I would hold with to the laſt graine; but every dayes experience is to the contrary. Nay, you may learn dutie of my Lady *Arbella* her ſelf, a Lady of the Blood, of an higher Rank than your ſelf, who declining (and yet that but by requeſt neither to declare of your fact) yieldeth ingenuouſly to be examined of her own; I do not doubt but by this time you ſee both your own error, and the Kings grace in proceeding with you in this manner.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, *then Ambaſſadour in* France, *to Queen* Elizabeth, *touching a free Paſſage for the Queen of* Scots, *through* England *into* Scotland.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty to underſtand that the 17 of *July* I received your letters at *Poiſey* of the 14 of the ſame, by *Franciſco* this bearer, and for that I could not according to your Majeſties inſtructions in the ſame letters, accompliſh the contents of them, until *Mounſieur d' Oyſell* had delivered your letters to the French King, the Queen of *Scotland*, and the Queen Mother (who did not arrive at this Court till the 20th of this preſent) I did defer to treat with any of the Princes of your

Majeſties

Majeſties anſwer to the ſaid *Mounſieur d' Oyſell.* Nevertheleſs the 18th of this moneth I required Audience of the French King, which was granted me, the ſame day in the after-noon I repaired to his Court being at Saint *Germanes*, and there the Queen-Mother accompanied with the King of *Navarre*, and ſundry other great perſonages, was in the place of State to hear what I had to ſay to the King her ſon who was abſent, unto her I declared your Majeſties pleaſure according to my inſtructions, concerning your acceptation of the Hoſtages already received, and hereafter to be received, ſignified to me by your Majeſties letters of the 17 of *June*, and as I wrote to your Majeſty lately, brought to me by *Mounſieur de Noailles* the 16 of *July*, for anſwer whereunto the Queen Mother ſaid, *Mounſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, we marvail greatly how it cometh to paſs that the Queen your Miſtreſs doth not make more ſtay to receive the King my ſons Hoſtages, than ſhe hath done heretofore; for from the beginning ſince the Hoſtages were ſent into *England*, neither the King my late Lord and Husband, nor the late King my Son, did either recommend the ſufficiency of their Hoſtages by their Letters, or cauſe their names to be recommended unto you the Ambaſſador; but the preſentation of them by our Ambaſſador in *England* did ſuffice: thereunto I ſaid, Madam, you know they be Hoſtages for a matter of ſome moment, and if they ſhould neither have the Kings aſſurance for their Validity, nor the Queen my Miſtris Ambaſſadours allowance of their ſufficiency, ſome perſonages might be ſent which were neither meet for the King to ſend, nor for the Queen my Miſtris to receive; and yet Madam, the Queen my Miſtris doth not require the manner of recommending the ſufficiency of the Hoſtages, for any doubt ſhe hath that unmeet perſons ſhould be ſent; but rather, becauſe a friendly and ſincere faſhion of dealing ſhould be betwixt her good Brother and her, with whom her Majeſty is ſo deſirous to have a perfect & aſſured Amity: I ſaid alſo, That the King her Son hath notified both to my Lord of *Bedford* at his being here, and unto me the names of ſome of the Hoſtages, as the Count of *Benon* before his going into *England*, as *Mounſieur de Sualt*, who had the charge ſo to do, could well inform her; ſo as this motion need not ſeem ſtrange for the newneſs. The Queen anſwered, *Mounſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, we be well-pleaſed, ſeeing your Miſtriſs doth require it, that from henceforth either the Hoſtages ſhall have the King my Sons Letters of Recommendation, or elſe their names ſhould be notified unto you, or any other her Ambaſſadour here; and I pray you *Mounſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, quoth ſhe, give the Queen your Miſtris my good Siſter to underſtand from me, That if there be any thing in this Countrey that may pleaſe her, ſhe ſhall have it, if I may know

her

her liking; I told the ſaid Queen, That I was ſure your Majeſty was of the ſame mind towards her, for any pleaſures to content her in your Realm, and ſo I took my leave of her for that time.

It may farther pleaſe your Majeſty, Having Intelligence that *Mounſieur d' Oyſell* had advertiſed the Queen of *Scotland*, by *Rollot* her Secretary, the 17th. of this preſent, what anſwer your Majeſty had made him; and hearing alſo of the ſundry Praiſes and diſcourſes made here, of that your Majeſty anſwered, I ſent to *Dampier* (a houſe of the Cardinal of *Lorrains*) the 19th. of this Month, to the Queen of *Scotland* to require Audience of her, which ſhe appointed me to have the next day in the Afternoon at St. *Germanes*; She was (accompanied) at *Domfier* with her Unkles the Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Guiſe*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*; there was alſo the Duke of *Nemours*, who the ſame day arrived there in Poſt out of *Savoy*, and viſited the ſaid Queen before he came to this Town.

The 20th of this preſent in the afternoon, I had acceſs to the ſaid Queen of *Scotland* with whom I found *Mounſieur d' Oyſel* talking when I entred into her Chamber; ſhe diſmiſſed *Mounſieur d' Oyſel*, and roſe from her Chair when ſhe ſaw me; unto whom I ſaid, Madam, whereas you ſent lately *Mounſieur d' Oyſel* to the Queen my Miſtris to demand her Majeſties ſafe conduct for your free paſſage by ſea into your own Realm, and to be accommodated with ſuch favours as upon events you might have need of upon the Coaſt of *England*, and alſo did farther require the free paſſage of the ſaid *Mounſieur d' Oyſel* into *Scotland* through *England*. The Queen my Miſtriſs hath not thought good to ſuffer the ſaid *Mounſieur d' Oyſel* to paſs into *Scotland*, nor to ſatisfy your deſire for your paſſage home, neither for ſuch other favours as you required to be accommodated withall at her Majeſties hand, in as much as you have not accompliſhed the ratification of the treaty accorded by your Deputies in *July*, now twelve Months ago at *Edenburgh*, which in honour you are bound many wayes to perform; for beſides, that you ſtand bound by your hand and ſeal, whereby your Commiſſioners were authorized, it may pleaſe you Madam to remember, that many promiſes have been made for the performance thereof, as well in the King your Husbands time, as by your ſelf ſince his death, and yet notwithſtanding the Treaty remaineth unratified, as before, a whole year being expired ſince the Accord thereof, which by your Commiſſioners was agreed to have been ratified within ſixty dayes: So as upon this unamicable and indirect dealings, the Queen my Miſtriſs hath refuſed you theſe favours and pleaſures by you required, and hath grounded this her Majeſties ſtrangeneſs unto you, upon your own behaviour, which her Majeſty doth ungladly, both

both for that your Majesty is as she is, a Queen, her next Neighbour and next Kinswoman; nevertheless her Majesty hath commanded me to say unto you, Madam (quoth I) that if you can like to be better advised, and to ratifie the treaty, as you in Honour are bound to do, her Majesty will not only give you and yours free passage, but also will be most glad to see you pass through her Realm, that you may be accommodated with the pleasure thereof, and such friendly conference may be had betwixt you, as all unkindness may be quenched, and an assured perfect amity betwixt you both for ever Established. Having said thus much unto her, the said Queen sat down, and made me sit also by her; she then commanded all the audience to retire them further of, and said, *Mounsieur l' Ambassadour*, I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported: but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions, as the Queen your Mistris was content to have, when she talked with *Mounsieur d'Oysil*; there is nothing that doth more grieve me, then that I did so forget my self, as to require of the Queen your Mistris that favour which I had no need to ask, I needed no more to have made her privy to my Journey, than she doth me of hers; I may pass well enough home into my own Realm, I think, without her Pass-port or License; for though the late King your Master (said she) used all the impeachment he could both to stay me, and catch me when I came hither, yet you know *Mounsieur le Ambassadour*, I came hither safely, and I may have as good means to help me home again, as I had to come hither, if I would imploy my Friends: Truly (said she) I was so far from evil meaning to the Queen your Mistris, that at this time I was more willing to employ her Amity to stand me instead, than all the Friends I have, and yet you know both in this Realm, and elsewhere, I have both Friends and Allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ both their Forces and Aid to stand me instead; you have *Mounsieur l' Ambassadour* (quoth she) oftentimes told me, That the Amity between the Queen your Mistris and me, were very necessary and profitable for us both; I have some Reason (quoth she) now to think that the Queen your Mistris is not of that mind; for I am sure if she were, she would not have thus refused me thus unkindly; it seemeth she maketh more account of the Amity of my disobedient Subjects, than she doth of me their Sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferiour in in Wisdome and experience, her nigheſt Kinswoman, and her next neighbour, and trow you (quoth she) that there can be so good meaning between my Subjects and her, which have forgotten their principal duty to me their Soveraign, as there should be betwixt her and me? I perceive that the Queen your Mistris doth think, that because my Subjects have done

me wrong, my Friends and Allies will forſake me alſo: indeed your Miſtriſs doth give me cauſe to ſeeke friendſhip where I did not mind to ask it; but *Mounſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, let the Queen your Miſtriſs think that it will be thought very ſtrange amongſt all Princes and Countries, that ſhe ſhould firſt animate my Subjects againſt me, and now being widow, to impeach my going into my own Countrey: I ask her nothing but friendſhip; I do not trouble her State, nor practiſe with her Subjects: And yet I know there be in her Realm that be inclined enough to hear offers; I know alſo they be not of the mind ſhe is of, neither in Religion, nor other things. The Queen your Miſtriſs doth ſay that I am young, and do lack experience; indeed (quoth ſhe) I confeſs, I am younger then ſhe is, and do want experience: But I have age enough and experience to uſe my ſelf towards my friends and Kinſfolks friendly and uprightly; And I truſt my diſcretion ſhall not ſo fail me, that my Paſſion ſhall move me to uſe other language of her then it becometh of a Queen and my next Kinſwoman. Well *Mounſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, I could tell you that I am as ſhe is, a Queen allied and friended, as is known; and I tell you alſo, that my heart is not inferiour to hers, ſo as an equal reſpect would be had betwixt us on both parts; but I will not contend in compariſons: firſt you know (quoth ſhe) that the accord was made in the late King my Lord and Husbands time, by whom, as reaſon was, I was commanded and Governed; and for ſuch delays, as were then in his time uſed in the ſaid ratification, I am not to be charged; ſince his Death, my Intereſt failing in the Realm of *France*, I left to be adviſed by the Councel of *France*, and they left me alſo to mine own Councel; indeed (quoth ſhe) my Unkles being as you know of the affaires of this Realm, do not think meet to adviſe me in my Affairs, neither do my Subjects, nor the Queen your Miſtriſs think meet that I ſhould be adviſed by them; but rather by the Councel of my own Realm; here are none of them, nor none ſuch as is thought meet that I ſhould be Counſelled by; the matter is great, it toucheth both them and me; and in ſo great a matter it were meet to uſe the advice of the wiſeſt of them; I do not think it meet in ſo great a matter to take the Counſel of private and unexpert perſons, and ſuch as the Queen your Miſtriſs knoweth be not moſt acceptable to ſuch of my Subjects as ſhe would have me be adviſed by; I have (quoth ſhe) often times told you, that as ſoon as I had their advices, I would ſend the Queen your Miſtriſs ſuch an anſwer as ſhould be reaſonable; I am about to haſte me home as faſt as I may, to the intent the matter might be anſwered; and now the Queen your Miſtriſs will in no wiſe ſuffer neither me to paſs home, nor him that I ſent into my Realm; ſo as *Mounſieur l' Ambaſſadour* (quoth ſhe) it ſeemeth the Queen your Miſtriſs will be the cauſe

why

why in this manner ſhe is not ſatisfied, or elſe ſhe will not be ſatisfied; but liketh to make this matter a quarrel ſtill betwixt us, whereof ſhe is the Author: The Queen your Miſtriſs ſaith that I am young; ſhe might well ſay that I were as fooliſh as young, if I would in the State and Countrey that I am in, proceed to ſuch a matter of my ſelf without any Counſel; for that which was done by the King my late Lord and husband, muſt not be taken to be my act; ſo as neither in Honour, nor in conſcience I am bound, as you ſay I am, to perform all that I was by my Lord and Husband commanded to do; and yet (quoth ſhe) I will ſay truly unto you, and as God favours me, I did never mean otherwiſe unto her, than becometh me to my good Siſter and Coſin; nor meant her no more harm than to my ſelf; God forgive them which have otherwiſe perſwaded her, if there be any ſuch; what is the matter, pray you, *Mounſieur l' Ambaſſadour* (quoth ſhe) that doth ſo offend the Queen your Miſtriſs, to make her thus evil-affected to me? I never did her wrong, neither in Deed, nor Speech; it ſhould the leſs grieve me, if I had deſerved otherwiſe than well; and though the World may be of divers judgments of us and our doings one to another, I do well know, God that is in Heaven can, and will be a true Judge both of our doings and meanings. I anſwered, Madam, I have declared unto you my Charge commanded by the Queen my Miſtriſs, and have no more to ſay to you on her behalf, but to know your Anſwer for the Ratification of the Treaty.

The Queen anſwered, I have aforetime ſhewed you, and do now tell you again, that it is not meet for to proceed in this matter without the advice of the Nobles and States of mine own Realm, which I can by no means have until I come amongſt them. You know (quoth ſhe) as well as I, there is none come hither ſince the death of the King my late Husband and Lord, but ſuch as are either come for their private buſineſs, or ſuch as dare not tarry in *Scotland*; but I pray you *Mounſieur l' Ambaſſadour* (quoth ſhe) tell me how riſeth this ſtrange affection in the Queen your Miſtriſs towards me; I deſire to know it, to the intent I may reform my ſelf, if I have failed. I anſwered, Madam, I have by the Commandment of the Queen my Miſtriſs declared unto you the cauſe of her miſcontentation already: But ſeeing you ſo deſirous to hear how you may be charged with any deſerving as one that ſpeaketh of mine own minde, without inſtruction, I will be ſo bold Madam, by way of diſcourſe to tell you; As ſoon as the Queen my Miſtriſs, after the death of her ſiſter, came to the Crown of *England*, you bore the Armes of *England* diverſly quartered with your own, and uſed in your Countrey notoriouſly the ſtyle and title of the Queen my Miſtriſs, which was never by you

put in ure in Queen *Maries* time; And if any thing can be more prejudicial to a Prince, than to uſurp the title and intereſt belonging to them, Madam, I do refer it to your own judgment; you ſee ſuch as be noted uſurpers of other folks States, cannot patiently be born withal for ſuch doings; much more the Queen my Miſtreſs hath cauſe to be grieved (conſidering her undoubted and lawful intereſt) with the offer of ſuch injury; *Mounſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, ſaid ſhe, I was then under the commandment of King *Henry* my Father, and of the King my Lord and husband, and whatſoever was done then by their order and Commandments, the ſame was in like manner continued until both their deaths, ſince which time, you know I neither bore the Armes, nor uſed the title of *England*; Me thinks (quoth ſhe) theſe my doings might aſcertain the Queen your Miſtriſs, that that which was done before, was done by commandment of them that had the power over me; and alſo in reaſon ſhe ought to be ſatisfied, ſeeing I order my doings as I tell you; it were no great diſhonour to the Queen my Coſen your Miſtriſs, though I a Queen alſo did bear the Armes of *England*; for I am ſure, ſome inferior to me, and that be not on every ſide ſo well apparented as I am, do bear the Armes of *England*. You cannot deny (quoth ſhe) but that my Grandmother was the King her Fathers ſiſter; and I trow the eldeſt ſiſter he had; I do aſſure you *Mounſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, and do ſpeak unto you truly, as I think, I never meant, nor thought matter againſt the Queen my Couſin. Indeed (quoth ſhe) I know what I am, and would be loth either to do others wrong, or ſuffer too much wrong to my ſelf; and now that I have told you my minde plainly, I pray behave your ſelf betwixt us like a good Miniſter, whoſe part is to make things betwixt Princes rather better than worſe; and ſo I took my leave of the ſaid Queen for that time.

The ſame day after this my Audience, I required Audience in like manner of the *French* King, which was aſſigned me on the 21. of this preſent at afternoon: At which time, I did ſet forth, as well as I could, to the Queen-Mother, the good reaſons and juſt occaſions, according to your Majeſties inſtructions, why your Majeſty did refuſe the Queen of *Scotland* your ſafe Conduct, for her free paſſage into her Countrey; and declared at good length, the Cauſes why your Majeſty did not accommodate the ſaid Queen of *Scotland* with ſuch favours as ſhe required in her paſſage, not forgetting the reaſons that moved your Majeſty to return *Mounſieur d' Oyſell* back hither again.

The Queen-Mother anſwered, *Mounſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, the King my Son, and I, are very ſorry to hear that the Queen my good Siſter your Miſtriſs, hath refuſed the Queen my Daughter free paſſage home into her own

own Realm; this may be an occaſion of farther unkindneſs betwixt them, and ſo prove to be a cauſe and entry into War; they are Neighbours, and near Coſins, and either of them hath great Friends and Allies, ſo as it may chance, that more unquietneſs ſhall enſue of this matter, than is to be wiſhed for, or then is meet to come to paſs; Thanks be to God (quoth ſhe) all the Princes of *Chriſtendome* are now in peace, and it were great pity that they ſhould not ſo continue; and where (ſaid ſhe) I perceive the matter of this unkindneſs is grounded upon the delay of Ratification of the Treaty: The Queen my Daughter hath declared unto you, That ſhe doth ſtay the ſame, until ſhe may have the advice of her own Subjects, wherein methinks (ſaid ſhe) my Daughter doth diſcreetly for many Reſpects; and though ſhe have her Unkles here by whom it is thought (as reaſon is) ſhe ſhould be adviſed; yet conſidering they be Subjects and Counſellors to the King my Son, they be not the meeteſt to give her Counſel in this matter; the Nobles and States of her own Realm, would neither like it, nor allow it, that their Sovereign ſhould reſolve without their advice in matter of conſequence: Therefore *Monnſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, quoth ſhe, methinks the Queen your Miſtriſs might be ſatisfied with this Anſwer, and accomodate the Queen my Daughter, her Couſin and Neighbour with ſuch favours as ſhe demandeth. I anſwered, Madam, the Queen my Miſtriſs truſteth, you will upon the reaſons before by me declared, as her good Siſter and friend, interpret the matter as favourably on her part, as on the Queen of *Scotlands*; and that you will alſo indifferently conſider how much it importeth my Miſtriſs not to ſuffer a matter ſo dangerous to her and her State, as this is, to paſſe unprovided for; it ſeemeth by the many delayes which in this matter have been uſed, after ſo many fair and ſundry promiſes, that the Queen of *Scotland* hath not meant ſo ſincerely and plainly as the Queen my Miſtriſs hath done; for by this time the ſaid Queen might have known the minds of her Subjects in *Scotland*, if ſhe liked to propound the matter unto them; There have been ſince the Death of the King your Son and her Husband, two or three Aſſemblies of the Nobles and States in *Scotland*, and this matter was never put forth amongſt them; Hither have come out of *Scotland* many of ſundry Eſtates, and ſome that the Queen did ſend with Commiſſion thither, as the Lord of *Finliter* to treat on her behalf with the Eſtates of that Realm, and of other matters; ſo as if ſhe had minded an end in this matter of the Treaty, before this time ſhe might have heard her Subjects advices. Thereto the Queen-Mother ſaid, the King my Son and I would be glad to do good betwixt the Queen my Siſter your Miſtriſs, and the Queen my Daughter, and ſhall be glad to hear that there were good amity betwixt them;

for

for neither the King my Son, nor I, nor none of his Council will do harm in the matter, nor ſhew our ſelves other than friends to them both.

After this, I took my leave of the ſaid Queen-Mother, and addreſſed my Speech to the King of *Navarre*, unto whom I declared, as I had done to the Queen-Mother, adding, That your Majeſty eſteemed his amity and friendſhip entire; that you did not doubt of his good acceptation of your doings and proceedings with the Queen of *Scotland*; and ſaid further, That for your Majeſties purpoſe to have reaſon at all times, and in all things of the Queen of *Scotland*, it were better ſhe were in her own Countrey than here; the ſaid King conceived that your Majeſty needed not doubt that the King his Sovereign would ſhew himſelf in this matter more affectionate to the Queen of *Scotland*, than to you his good Siſter, and thereof he bade me aſſure your Majeſty. Then taking my leave of the ſaid King of *Navarre*, I went to the Conſtable, and declared unto him, as I had done unto the King of *Navarre*, on your Majeſties behalf; the Conſtable humbly thanked your Majeſty that you would communicate your affaires with him, which argued your good opinion of him; he ſaid, he truſted that your expectation ſhould not be deceived of him; but would rather ſo behave himſelf towards your Majeſty, as your good opinion of him ſhould be increaſed: As to the matter of the Queen of *Scotland*, he was ſorry that the occaſions were ſuch, as your Majeſty could not beſtow ſuch kindneſs on her as was meet betwixt Princes ſo neer Neighbours and Kinsfolks; but he truſted that time would repair theſe unkindneſſes betwixt you; as for his part, he prayed your Majeſty to think that he would never give other advice to the King his Sovereign, but ſuch as ſhould rather increaſe the good amity betwixt both your Majeſties, than diminiſh it; and ſo prayed me to preſent his moſt humble Commendation and Service to your Majeſty, wherewith I took my leave of him. And to the intent I might the better deſcipher whether the Queen of *Scotland* did mind to continue her Voyage, I did the ſame 21 of *July* (after my former negotiations finiſhed) repair to the ſaid Queen of *Scotland* to take my leave of her; unto whom I then declared, that in as much as I was your Majeſties Ambaſſadour, as well to her for the matters of *Scotland*, as to the *French* King your good Brother, and hearing by common bruit that ſhe minded to take her Voyage very ſhortly, I thought it my Duty to take my leave of her, and was ſorry ſhe had not given your Majeſty ſo good occaſion of Amity, as that I your Miniſter could not conveniently wait upon her to her embarking. The ſaid Queen made Anſwer, *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, if my preparations were not ſo much advanced as they are, peradventure the Queen your Miſtriſſes unkindneſs, might ſtay my Voyage; but now I am determined

mined to adventure the matter, whatſoever come of it; I truſt (quoth ſhe) the wind will be ſo favourable, as I ſhall not need to come on the Coaſt of *England*; and if I do, then *Mounſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, the Queen your Miſtriſs ſhall have me in her hands to do her will of me; and if ſhe be ſo hard-hearted as to deſire my end, ſhe may then do her pleaſure, and make ſacrifice of me; peradventure that caſualty might be better for me, than to live; in this matter (quoth ſhe) Gods will be fulfilled. I anſwered, ſhe might amend all this matter if ſhe would, and find more Amity of your Majeſty and your Realm, than of any other Prince or Countrey. The Queen anſwered, I have (me thinketh) offered and ſpoken that that might ſuffice the Queen my Siſter, if ſhe will take any thing well at my hand; I truſt (ſaid ſhe) for all this, we ſhall agree better than ſome would have us, and for my part I will not take all things to the worſt; I hope alſo (ſaid ſhe) the Queen my Siſter and Coſin, will do the like, whereof (quoth ſhe) I doubt not, if Miniſters do no harm betwixt us: and ſo the ſaid Queen embraced me.

This is the ſum of my Negotiations at theſe my laſt Audiences with the *French* King, the Queen-Mother, the King of *Navarre*, the Queen of *Scotland*, and the Conſtable; whereof I have thought meet to enlarge to your Majeſty in ſuch ſort as the ſame paſſed, and was uttered betwixt us. As far as I can perceive, the ſaid Queen of *Scotland* continueth her Voyage ſtill, and I hear that *Villageigmon* and *Octavian* have the principal order of her ſaid Voyage, and mean to ſail along the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and ſo to ſtrike over to the North-part of *Scotland*, as the wind ſhall ſerve; ſhe did once mean to uſe the Weſt-paſſage, but now ſhe dares not truſt the Duke of *Chaſtillerault*, nor the Earl of *Arguile*, and therefore dareth not to paſs by the Weſt-Seas.

The ſaid Queen, as I hear, deſireth to borrow of the *French* King a hundred thouſand Crowns, the ſame to be received again of her Dowry, which is twenty eight thouſand Crowns by the year; the Queen-Mother is willing to help her; the King of *Navarre* doth not further the matter, but ſeeketh to abridge the ſum. After I had done my Negotiations at the Court, I was conſtrained to diſlodge from *Poiſſey*, for the Aſſembly of the Clergy, who meet there to the end of this month, and the *Ambaſſadours* are now appointed to lodge at *Paris*.

The Queen of *Scotland* departed from St. *Germanes* yeſterday 25. of *July* towards her Voyage as ſhe bruiteth it; ſhe ſendeth moſt of her Train ſtrait to *New-haven* to embark, and ſhe herſelf goeth ſuch a way between both, as ſhe will be at her choice to go to *New-Haven*, or to *Callis*: upon the ſudden what ſhe will do, or where ſhe will embark, ſhe will be acknown to never a Scotch man, and but to few French.

And

And for all theſe ſhews and boaſts, ſome think ſhe will not go at all, and yet all her ſtuff is ſent down to the Sea, and none other bruit in her houſe but of her haſty going; if it would pleaſe your Majeſty to cauſe ſome to be ſent privily to all the Ports on this ſide, the certainty ſhall be better known to your Majeſty that way by the laying of her veſſels, than I can advertiſe it hence. She hath ſaid, that at her coming into *Scotland*, ſhe will forthwith rid the Realm of all the Engliſh men there; namely, of your Majeſties Agent there, and forbid mutual Traffick with your Majeſties Subjects; if ſhe make the haſte to embark that ſhe ſeemeth to do, ſhe will be almoſt ready to embark by that time this ſhall come to your Majeſties hands. Two or three dayes ago, the *French* King was troubled with a pain in his head, and the ſame beginneth to break from him by bleeding at the noſe, and running at his ear, it is taken to be the ſame diſeaſe in his head, whereof his brother died; but by voiding it (which the other could not do, that organ being ſtopped) this King is well amended.

At the diſpatch hereof the King of *Navarre* was unquieted by a flux and a vomit, and the Queen Mother with a Fever. I hear that in *Gaſcony*, the people ſtir apace for Religion (as they do in many other places) and being there aſſembled, to the number of four thouſand, have entred a Town, thrown down the Images, and put out the Prieſts, and will ſuffer no Maſſe to be ſaid there.

My Lord of *Leviſton* being ready to go homewards into *Scotland* through *England*, went to the Queen of *Scotland* for his leave ſo to do, but ſhe hath commanded him to tarry and wait on her, and to meet her at *Abevillo*, without letting him know any thing elſe; he in doubt what ſhe will do, is content to expect her coming thither, and to do then as ſhe ſhall command him; and ſeeing no likelihood of her ſhort paſſing, (which he ſaith is uncertain) but that ſhe will go to *Callis*, there to hover and hearken what your Majeſty doth to ſtop her, and according thereunto to go or ſtay; he mindeth to get him home; he hath required my Letters of recommendations to your Majeſties Officers at his landing in *England*; which for his good devotion towards your Majeſty, and for that he is one that wiſheth the ſame well, I have not refuſed him; and ſo humbly beſeech your Majeſties good favour towards him, at his coming to your Majeſty for his Paſs-port. Here is a bruit, that the *Turk* is greatly impeached, both by a ſort of *Jewes* within his own Countrey, and alſo by the Sophy. And thus I pray God long to preſerve your Majeſty in health, honour and all felicity; from *Paris*, *July* 26. 1561.

Your Majeſties moſt humble, and moſt obedient Subject and Servant, N. Throckmorton.

FINIS

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FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 72. line 16, for bnt. read but, p. 89. l. 22. for *Twilnam*. r. *Twltuam*. p. [97] l. 3. for *fortunas suas*. r. *fortuna sua*. p. 116. l. 3. for *Moleneux*. r. *Molineux*. p. 120. in fine for name. r. named. p. 130. l. 9. for what. r. with. and l. 9. for not. r. now. p. 137. l. 12. for to. r. to be. p. 165. l. 6. for there. r. here. p. 173. l. 9. or 10. for over. r. from us. p. 182. l. 14. for inferior. r. inferior. p. 208. l. 18. for *Holladour*. r. *Hollander*. and in the same line, for le. r. he. p. 211. l. 21. for *Ludia*. r. *Suedia*. p. 224. l. 26. for *Abeville*. r. *Abbeville*.

A